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ROMAN DECREES.
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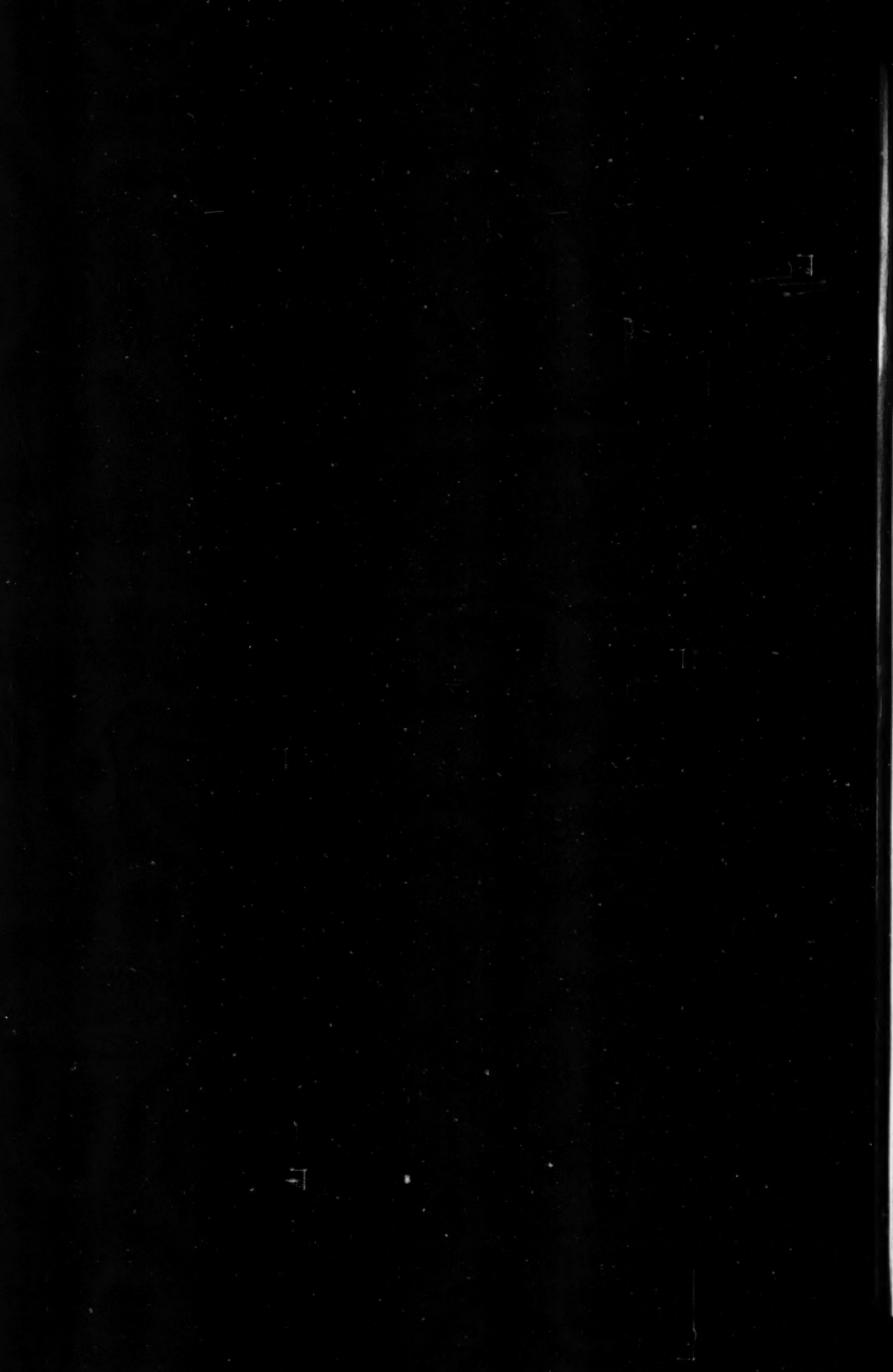
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THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1905.

ART. I.—PAPIAS AND THE GOSPEL.

AMONG the various scraps of information on the subject of the origin of the Gospels which we are able to gather together out of the writings of the Fathers of the Church, there are none which can compare in importance with the short statements from Papias, which have been so fortunately preserved to us by Eusebius. For in them and in them alone do we definitely get back to the apostolic age, and hear the voice of one who actually lived through the period during which the Gospels grew into their present form, and who may therefore be speaking with a first-hand knowledge, and not merely passing on information which he had himself derived from others. Papias himself, in all probability, was born well within the lifetime of St. John, and is said to have been one of the pupils of that Apostle; but in these extracts he is not speaking in his own person, but recording what had been said by one who was much older than himself, and who was, if not actually an Apostle, at least a disciple of the Lord. No study, however minute, can be too much to give to a testimony so precious, and one which stands so much alone, being, as it is, anterior by

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the greater part of a whole century to any other information on the subject which has come down to our times.

The dates of Papias' life, though they have formed the subject of considerable debate, can be fixed within comparatively small limits. Irenaeus speaks of him as a *presbyter* or elder, a title which is used by the Fathers to denote one older by two generations than themselves. The word implies the limit of possible oral tradition, and means one who was already old when the writer was still young—one, therefore, whose testimony could go back a hundred years or more from the time at which he is quoted. Thus Irenaeus himself is spoken of as a *presbyter* by St. Cyril, Pantaenus by Clement of Alexandria, Polycarp and Papias by Irenaeus, while to Papias himself, as we shall see, the Apostles and their contemporaries are those who are entitled to the name. In every case the relation is the same when an individual is spoken of. He is one who is remembered as an old man while the speaker was still young. In the plural, and used generally, the word denotes all those who lived in the past and were in their day teachers of religion, much in the same way as we nowadays use the term "the Fathers" or "the ancients."

There were two such old men whom Irenaeus could remember in his youth, and whom he designates not only as *presbyters* but also as "ancients." These were Polycarp and Papias. We should naturally gather from this that these two were about the same age and standing, and this impression is confirmed by the exact phrase that Irenaeus uses, which is that Papias was "a hearer of John and companion of Polycarp." Now Polycarp's martyrdom can be pretty accurately assigned to the year 155, and he was then 86 years of age. He was, therefore, born about A.D. 70, and we shall probably not be far wrong if we assume that date as representing approximately the birth of Papias also. His memory, therefore, might easily carry him back to the time of John the Apostle, if we may credit the statement of Irenaeus that St. John lived on to extreme old age, and passed away at last in the reign of Trajan, some time after A.D. 98.

In his old age Papias published a work, entitled *Λογίων*

κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις, *Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord*. We gather that it was in his old age, because of the tone of the Preface, part of which Eusebius has preserved, and which seems to imply that the work was the fruit of a lifetime's labour. There is also another indication that this was so in another fragment of the book lately published in *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, 1889. This fragment speaks of some of those whom our Lord raised from the dead as having lived "until the time of Hadrian." This expression seems to imply that Hadrian himself was also dead, and therefore suggests a date not much earlier than A.D. 140 for the book.

The passage from Papias' Preface is of considerable importance, because it names the authorities on which he relied. It is addressed apparently to an individual, a style of introduction which suggests imitation of St. Luke, and runs as follows :

"But I will not hesitate to record for thee, together with the interpretations, all the things which I once learned well from the Presbyters and kept well in my memory, that so I may confirm their truth. For I took pleasure, not in those who are great talkers, as the multitude do, but in those who teach the truth; not in those who relate alien commandments, but in those who record such commandments as were given by the Lord to the faith and spring from the Truth itself. If therefore any one came who had been a follower of the Presbyters, I would ask him about the words of the Presbyters; what Andrew, or what Peter said, or what Philip, or what Thomas or James, or what John or Matthew, or any other of the disciples of the Lord. And [I enquired] into the things which Aristion and John the Presbyter, the disciples of the Lord, say: for I did not think that the things which were contained in the books were as much use to me as what came from a living voice still remaining among us."

Few passages of the Fathers have been found so difficult of interpretation as this, or have received more widely differing explanations. It was seized upon by Eusebius, who thought that the mention of the name of John twice over implied the existence of two separate indi-

viduals who bore that name. He eagerly pointed out the possibility that the second of these might be the author of the Apocalypse, the apostolical origin of which book he was anxious to deny because of the millenarian passages it contains, which were especially offensive to his opinions. More recently the passage has formed the basis of an immense amount of speculation by critics generally, the object being to claim this same John the Presbyter as the author, not of the Apocalypse, but of the fourth Gospel.

It is difficult, when one reads the confident statements made by critics about this rather shadowy personage, and finds him displacing St. John the Apostle, not only as the author of the Gospel but also as the leading figure in the Church of Asia Minor at the end of the first century, to realise that there is not a shadow of evidence that such a person ever existed at all, beyond Eusebius' very precarious inference from the writings of Papias. For if we examine the passage carefully it does not seem at all certain that Eusebius was right in saying that the existence of a second John is really necessarily implied. We proceed, therefore, to subject the passage to a careful scrutiny.

Papias, in this Preface, is indicating the objects he has had before him in writing his book and the sources from which he has derived his information. His object is to elucidate the sayings of Christ and to collect traditional matter which may serve that purpose. The basis of his book, we must suppose, is some collection of the sayings of our Lord, and he is writing what we should describe as a commentary upon them. For the purpose of this commentary he made it his business to collect oral traditions, which was still, in the early years of the second century, a quite possible thing to do. But he avoided the great mass of Gnostic speculation which was so fashionable at the time, and tried always to keep to orthodox and apostolic traditions. The Presbyters, those who were old when he was young, and who in his case were the actual Apostles themselves and their contemporaries, were those to whom he looked back and about whose views he tried to collect information. Some of that generation he remembered himself and had numbered among his teachers as a child. That teaching, still in his

old age clearly remembered, forms the first source on which he is depending. But he has not been content to rely solely on what he was then taught, but has been a learner all his life. True, the Presbyters themselves, the apostolic generation who had known the Lord, soon passed away and were no longer available as teachers; but those who had known them and had been taught by them still survived, and when any such had come to his home at Hierapolis he had been careful to ask them about their memories of the apostolic teaching, "what Andrew said, and what Peter," and so forth. Lastly, there was still a third source from which he had drawn his information, and that was "the things which Aristion and John the Presbyter, the disciples of the Lord, say." The construction in the Greek needs to be carefully studied. There is a change in the conjunction, 'and' instead of 'or,' and, what is more important, there is also a change in the pronoun. It is *α*, "the things which," instead of *τι*, "what." The consequence is that this last clause must not be taken, as it often has been, as dependent simply on the antecedent verb, which would give the sense 'I used to enquire what Andrew and Peter had said and what Aristion and John do say.' In that case the meaning would be, no doubt, that Andrew and Peter were dead, but Aristion and John were still alive; and the last verb, which is in the present tense, must then be taken as a 'historic present.' The construction would be an awkward one and there would be no reason for the other changes of the conjunction and pronoun.

A much better explanation has been given by Professor Drummond in his recent book on the Fourth Gospel. He points out that the phrase, "What Aristion and John say" must refer to the time when Papias was writing the book, and not to the much earlier date when he was prosecuting the enquiries of which he has spoken in the last paragraph. He is naming, in fact, his third source, and it is "the things which Aristion and John the Presbyter, the disciples of the Lord, say." But then, if these men had been disciples of the Lord, how could they continue to speak in, say, A.D. 140, when Papias is writing. Obviously in one way only, by means of their writings. Papias' third source is a

written one—the *books* of Aristion and of John the Presbyter, and it is a source which he does not value as highly as his other two. Hence he continues, “For I did not think that the things out of the books (τὰ βιβλία, not books in general, but the books just mentioned) were of as much use for my purpose as what came from a living voice still remaining with us.”

We naturally enquire next whether any such books as these are known to have existed. They may of course have perished, leaving no trace behind them, as many Christian books of that early period must have done. But Professor Drummond is able to bring one other piece of evidence which suggests that there really were such books in existence and that Papias made use of them. Eusebius, in his account of Papias and his work, records a narrative received from the daughters of Philip, who had settled in Hierapolis, and then goes on: “But the same author has recorded also other things which came to him as from unwritten tradition. . . . He also includes in his own work (τῇ ἰδίᾳ γραφῇ) other narratives of the sayings of the Lord of the aforesaid Aristion, and traditions of the Presbyter John.” The grammatical inference clearly is that these latter materials did not come to him “as from unwritten tradition,” but from books or writings, from which they were transferred to his own book.

This interpretation, which seems sound, gives us for the first time a clear and simple meaning for the words of Papias. He was writing a commentary on the sayings of Christ, with illustrative matter, not from contemporary speculation, but from traditional sources. These sources were threefold. First came his own reminiscences of the teaching he had received in his youth from men of the apostolic generation, possibly, as Irenaeus definitely asserts, among others from St. John the Apostle himself. Secondly, came a variety of second-hand information collected in the course of a long life, from others whose memory, like his own, went back to the time of the Apostles, and many of whom had, no doubt, enjoyed much greater opportunities than his own. Lastly, came two books of memoirs, which recorded the words of two notable

disciples of our Lord, and which we infer from Eusebius bore titles which were approximately *Aristion on the Sayings of the Lord*, and *Traditions of the Presbyter John*. Such traditional material, in the opinion of Papias, was much superior to the voluminous and unauthorised speculation, largely no doubt of a Gnostic character, which he found so prevalent around him. Here we have a simple and consistent explanation of a difficult passage which renders the peculiarities of the Greek construction natural and intelligible, and which, therefore, we are justified in accepting as the true one, to the exclusion of other explanations which do not offer these advantages.

But, if so, a most important conclusion follows, which Professor Drummond, oddly enough, has not noticed. It is that the only shadow of evidence for the separate existence of John the Presbyter, as distinguished from John the Apostle, has utterly vanished away. The existence of such a personage, as has already been said, rests on no single word of outside evidence. It is an inference solely from this one passage of Papias. If in a single sentence, it has been said, Papias refers to one John, obviously the Apostle, who is dead, and therefore spoken of in the past, and also to a John the Presbyter, who is alive, and therefore spoken of in the present tense, it necessarily follows that these two Johns are to be distinguished the one from the other. It was at best a precarious foundation on which to build the tremendous superstructure which German critics have created in their writings on this second John of Ephesus, but if Professor Drummond's interpretation is a sound one, even that scanty foundation has been destroyed. For John the Apostle was certainly, according to Irenaeus, one of the Presbyters from whom Papias learnt in his youth; he was equally certainly one of those Presbyters about whose sayings he says he has collected all he could from others who had known him; and why should he not be also the Presbyter of that name, a collection of whose sayings had been committed to writing and was already in his hands. John the Apostle, in other words, figures at first or second hand in each of the three divisions into which Papias has divided his authorities, and there remains

no shadow of reason for Eusebius' suggestion that we ought to understand two separate Johns as being here referred to.

Against this conclusion there remains but one possible objection. Is it likely, it may be asked, that John the Apostle should be spoken of as John the Presbyter? It is most unlikely, we must admit, if the speaker were any other than Papias, or at least if the date of the writing was later than the first half of the second century. But to Papias, as we can see in this very passage, the titles of Presbyter and Apostle were almost interchangeable. "When there came any who had been a follower of the Presbyters I would ask him about the words of the Presbyters—what Andrew said or Peter . . . or John." The title of Presbyter is actually applied to the Apostles as a body, and to St. John in particular, in the preceding sentence. It is therefore impossible to concede that there would have been any impropriety to the mind of Papias in similarly applying the title in the last sentence. The difficulty lies, in fact, rather in explaining why Aristion is not given the title than in admitting the propriety of such a title being given to St. John. And the reason of this difference being made between the two, although each as "disciple of the Lord" would seem equally entitled to be called Presbyter by Papias, is that Papias is not so much intending to deny the title to Aristion as applying it *par excellence* to St. John. Aristion was a Presbyter, no doubt, but St. John, in his eyes, was *the* Presbyter; so much so that if "the Presbyter" was spoken of without any name being mentioned, it was St. John who would have been understood to be referred to, much in the same way as "the Apostle" or "the Philosopher" were in mediæval times often used to designate St. Paul or Aristotle respectively. For we have the best of evidence to show that this was the custom in Asia Minor in the later years of St. John's life. The Apostle himself in his two smaller Epistles, which we assume for the moment as being rightly ascribed to him, describes himself simply as "the Presbyter" or "the Elder." It is not necessary for him to mention his name, for that title alone, and by itself, is amply sufficient to

denote the author's personality. So he begins quite simply, "The Presbyter to the Elect lady and her children"; "The Presbyter to the dearly beloved Gaius." If that was, as it seems to have been, the title that the Apostle habitually used to describe himself, and by which he was known to others in the later years of his life, we can scarcely be surprised if one who had known him in those years should use the title a generation later.

The great importance of this identification lies, of course, in its connection with the criticism of the Fourth Gospel. Probably, indeed, we should never have heard of the theory that two separate persons were spoken of had it not been that the critics have found it vastly convenient to have another John to whom the authorship of the Gospel could be assigned, with the result of destroying part, if not all, of its apostolic authority. But the question has an importance also in connection with the criticism of the Synoptics, because of the passages Papias quotes from "the Presbyter" about the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. These passages, full of difficulty and obscurity when regarded as the utterances of an otherwise unknown Presbyter of the second century, become luminous and of the first importance if we regard them, as we have been trying to show that we have the right to do, as being genuine statements of St. John the Apostle, which came down to Papias through a book of memoirs, "Traditions of the Presbyter John." We will look at them again in this novel light.

"This also the Presbyter said: Mark, who had been the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately, though not indeed in order, everything that he remembered, whether of the doings or sayings of Christ. For he was not himself either a hearer or a follower of the Lord, but afterwards, as I said, of Peter, and Peter adapted his instructions to the requirements [of his hearers], and had no intention of giving a connected account of the Lord's sayings. Mark, therefore, was in no way to blame for writing down some things as he remembered them, for his one care was not to omit anything that he heard or to set down any false statement therein."

And again, probably, but by no means certainly, also on the authority of "the Presbyter":

"So then Matthew composed the sayings (τὰ λόγια) in the Hebrew language, and each interpreted them as he could."

At first sight both these statements seem to bristle with difficulties. There is an apologetic tone in what is said about St. Mark's writings, which is difficult to reconcile with the reverence which ought to have been given, one would have thought, to a work which was practically of apostolic authority. Nor, again, it is easy to see in what sense St. Mark's Gospel can have been said not to be orderly in its arrangement, for it is the most orderly of the Synoptics, and the later Evangelists mainly depend on it for the order they have adopted. But if the critic was no other than St. John himself, the statement is perfectly easy to understand. For he, and he alone, had a right to speak and to criticize, because he alone had first-hand knowledge. We can imagine that some exception had been taken by some of St. John's disciples to the order of events given by St. Mark, on the ground that it was not in agreement with what St. John had taught them. In that case his remarks fit in perfectly. He is explaining how St. Mark came to be wrong in these points, and maintaining that nevertheless the Gospel is trustworthy and accurate so far as its main purpose is concerned. The criticism fits in also with the well-known circumstance that the Gospel according to St. John does, as a matter of fact, differ from, and apparently try to correct, the Synoptics in several points of chronology and order.

The statement about St. Matthew's writing does not refer to the Gospel we are now acquainted with. For this writing was in Hebrew, or rather Aramaic, and the Gospel, as we have it in Greek, is not simply a translation from an Aramaic original. But here again the explanation is simple if we can suppose the speaker to be an Apostle. He is looking back, we may suppose, to the early days at Jerusalem, when the principal Christian written documents in the possession of the Church were the Gospel of St. Mark—probably in an earlier form or edition,

but still substantially the same as that which we now have—and the “Logia,” or collection of the sayings of Christ, which had been put together by St. Matthew, and which, later on, was to form the distinctive portion of the Greek Gospel which bears that Apostle's name. There is no reason why these two documents should not have been known at Jerusalem some years before the destruction of the city in A.D. 70, and have been read in the weekly assemblies. Our present Gospels are almost certainly of a somewhat later date, and came into existence, not in Jerusalem, but in Rome or elsewhere. The statement that the “Logia” existed in Hebrew only, and that every man translated it as best he could, is likely enough to have been true of Jerusalem before A.D. 70, but is full of difficulties if we try to assign it to any other place or any later date. All these considerations fit in admirably with the idea that St. John the Apostle was the speaker referred to, but are very much against the possibility that some later Presbyter, of the generation after the apostolic age, could have been the author of these statements. But if it be really St. John, then the important bearing of these two passages on the correct understanding of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, especially in chronological matters, can hardly be exaggerated. But that is a subject which demands an article to itself, and we must leave it for another occasion.

A. S. BARNES.

ART. II.—THE VEIL OF THE TEMPLE.*

"I AM naturally of so grateful a soul," St. Teresa used to say, "that to give me a sardine is to bribe me." As she was enunciating merely a Catholic principle of gratitude, we may admit that Mr. Mallock has bribed all Catholic reviewers of his latest work. The bribe is no more than a "sardine"; yet no other class whom he belabours—and he belabours all classes—has been offered even a "shrimp." Of the various philosophical and religious sects whom Mr. Mallock calls up for a bludgeoning by his pitiless logic, the Roman Catholic priest comes nearest to receiving a word of kindness, if not of praise. There is even a touch of sentiment in describing the Irish priest who had borrowed the hero's bespoken horse to "carry him off to the bed of a sick parishioner"; and a touch of scorn in describing "Brampton, once a Roman Catholic priest, who had married a wife and invented a new religion." These two references constitute the "sardine" offered to Catholics. But from the nature of the bribe it will be admitted that St. Teresa herself would hardly be tempted to much disloyalty.

However, though we may be bribed, there is no reason why we should be hoodwinked or muzzled. Let us deal fairly by Mr. Mallock's *Veil*, even if it be but a thing of shreds and patches. The *Veil of the Temple* is only something more (or less?) than a second edition of his former book, *Religion as a Credible Doctrine*. Under the thin shroud of the novelist the author has contrived to give us a balance-sheet of Christian and non-Christian, of

* By W. H. Mallock.

theological and non-theological apologetics. It would be ungrateful to forget the brilliant flashes of wit that reveal the author's old, best manner. Our aim, however, is not compliment, but criticism, and it would be uncritical not to remark that Mr. Mallock's wit is reminiscent of the steel of the sledge-hammer rather than of the dissecting knife or of the scimitar. His logical method is one of pulverisation rather than of dissection; and whether it is a nut of quartz or a diamond or a rose, it is all equally pulverised by Mr. Mallock's irrepressible mortar and pestle.

The *Dramatis Personae* are grouped with no small view to artistic effect. They may be described as:

Rupert Glanville, the hero, or at least the spokesman of the book; a bachelor, politician, philosopher.

Alistair Seaton, a Scotch Idealist, with Scotch red hair and an ulster of Scotch tweed.

Mr. Hancock, Editor of the *Dictionary of Contemporary Life*, of whom it is said that "there's no one he doesn't know, and nothing he won't talk about."

Cosmo Brock, the author of *Synthetic Philosophy*, with high-domed forehead, keen eyes, long and compressed lips, a beard like a ragged bib, limp shirt front, square-toed shoes, and white thread stockings.

Lord Restormel, a polished sensualist with a knack of writing verses "for private circulation only."

Mr. Brampton, the ex-Roman Catholic priest above mentioned with the new religion and the new wife.

A Broad-minded Bishop. A Society Canon. An evangelical clergyman of the "smote the Amalecite" type. An ænemic ritualist who recites a Litany of the Sacrament and deplores the Real Absence.

Not a few women, of various tones of dress, thought, and character, whose unbiassed and somewhat academic devotion to monogamous ethics, as Mr. Brock would say, will, no doubt, help the circulation of Mr. Mallock's book with that class of readers—always a large class—who experience more satisfaction in the proceedings of the Divorce Court than in the "Proceedings of the Metaphysical Society."

All these *dramatis personae* are thrown together in or about the Irish country house of Rupert Glanville, the bachelor philosopher, who delights in keeping Liberty Hall. And as for the doings and sayings and the suggestions of these entertaining rather than edifying folk, are they not

written for the interest, rather than for the improvement, of dabblers in piety and philosophy and scandal in the pages of *The Veil of the Temple*? Mr. Mallock has very naturally thought it well to write a most unusual preface apologising for the "general flippancy" (an example of Mr. Mallock's delightful euphemism!) "of the work." But his defence of this flippancy is certainly unconventional, if somewhat paradoxical. He says, "I can only ask them to consider the character" (another fine specimen of the author's euphemism!) "of the speakers." We look upon this as a characteristic and healthy specimen of Mr. Mallock's methods of defence. Later on we shall see that he has most original, if somewhat academic, views of defence. But we think it not altogether desirable that the author of a defence of theism should think it necessary to begin with an apology for his apologetics. However, what his apology lacks in force it makes up in originality. When he is rated for the general flippancy of his book, Mr. Mallock meekly says: "But if my characters talk somewhat indecently, pray remember that they have no characters worth speaking of." A second defence is made by saying that "the aim of the book throughout is to translate the language of the philosopher, the professor, and the preacher into the *ordinary* language of men and women of the world." We must take Mr. Mallock's knowledge of the ordinary men and women of the world as greater than ours. But we are under the impression that to have credited him with keeping such company as that which appears behind this "*Veil of the Temple*" would have brought us into dangerous contiguity with the law of defamation.

We must thank Mr. Mallock for his good intention, though it is regrettable that our thanks must perforce stop there. It was his intention to provide orthodox theism with an apology if not with a defence. Mr. Mallock's plan is certainly ingenious. In a book of 430 pages he devotes some 370 pages to making what he calls a ploughed field. He goes over theology, idealism and naturalism with his logical plough, and not only turns over weeds—which are sure to grow up again in a month's time—but uproots the growing crop, which will not spring up again. Or, to

take his own metaphor from the science of fortification, he pulls down all the existing outworks, and, on the eve of a siege, finds himself, to his evident satisfaction, with nothing but a ploughed field roughly scored over with the ground plan of some new theory of defence. We do not blame him for this. It is his own business to defend truth as he likes. But he must not be surprised if the defenders of the castle, who have gone through a thousand sieges without once lowering the flag, prefer their entrenchments, however old, to the ploughed field theory, however new.

Like a pedlar with a new pattern, Mr. Mallock is naturally full of his theory. If we are to take Rupert Glanville for the exponent of the ploughed field theory of defence, we must confess that this gentleman's autobiography does not make for confidence. Even in his boyhood, during the periods best described in his own words as the "year of the first tail-coat," when a "profound but unfortunate passion for a dark-eyed widow of forty drove him into waste places at the far end of the shrubbery," he was evidently as capable of making up his own mind as he was of losing his heart. But, to tell the truth, there seems to have been an equal display of sense in both. What would you think of a young gentleman of "these parts" saying of himself: "Still, under these circumstances, such knowledge and intellect as I possessed had already made themselves felt as unrecognised opponents of my orthodoxy in the form of an instinctive contempt for nearly all the controversial arguments which I heard in my devout boyhood enumerated from Anglican pulpits. The moral appeals of the preachers used often to touch me deeply, but if I had been in search of a serious intellectual guide I would have gone, in preference to them, to the clown at the nearest circus." This is a most enlightening fragment of autobiography. A young gentleman, not yet twenty, finds that Oxford has not one intellectual guide whom he would prefer to a circus clown. Over and above the interesting light it throws upon Rupert Glanville's choice of entertainment and of his incipient or even developed taste for the less austere forms of humour, it is not without its value as a contribution towards the history

of the University. If Rupert Glanville is to be taken as a witness, it still merited Giordano Bruno's witty nickname, "the Widow of sound learning." But I greatly fear we must not look for patient observation or accurate statement from this young gentleman, not yet of age, who could not find in one of the greatest universities of the world anyone whose opinion in matters of orthodoxy he would prefer to those of a circus clown.

This Rupert Glanville is altogether a fascinating study. At first sight one would have thought that his stay at the University would have taught him logic, if not philosophy. But, to tell the truth, Rupert's "*idola amphitheatri*," or circus-clown ring of acquaintances, seem to have prevented the "Widow of sound learning" from having her normal effect. Take the following as a specimen of this philosopher's most trenchant reasoning :

"Meanwhile, the scientific thinkers who frequented my uncle's house made me familiar with another order of facts which the divines and philosophers of my college, with bland smiles and little twittering voices, acknowledged indeed in a general way, but the meaning of which they never realised, because in matters of science the best of them were no better than dunces. These facts were the immensity and apparent eternity of the universe, the shortness of the period covered by human history compared with the ages for which man has existed, and the length of this last when compared with the few thousand years to which the orthodox Christian story of the Fall and the Redemption had confined it. And to these must be added another—which my new friends declared to be indubitable—the association of all life with its exact organic equivalents, and its invariable disturbance or extinction when the organism is dissolved or injured. From these facts, as I was not slow to see, two conclusions followed ; and the men of science had no hesitation in drawing them. One was that God—if such a name were permissible—was merely the impersonal sum of the forces and uniformities of the universe ; and the other was that men, no less than pigs and potatoes, came into life with their bodies, and died for ever with the death of them."

Assuming that Mr. Glanville's age lies somewhere between fifty and sixty, we may conclude that he must have been up at Oxford about 1870. Passing over the "local colouring" conveyed by "the bland smiles and little twittering voices" of the divines and philosophers, it is rather hard on the men who were at Oxford about 1870 to say that the best of them were no better than "dunces." In intellectual matters, Rupert Glanville confesses that he would have passed over these men in favour of "the clown at the nearest circus." Really! One begins to suspect Glanville of being somewhat of a prig, and a very conceited prig to boot, to whom the divines and philosophers of Oxford are dunces in science and worse than circus clowns in matters intellectual!

But perhaps this young philosopher of some twenty summers possessed intellectual (if not moral) gifts of such a supreme order that he was qualified to look down upon the men who were officially his masters. We shrewdly suspect that Rupert never really got to know the intellectual powers and possessions of these men. He seems to think that they were as dunces with regard to the "immensity and apparent eternity of the universe"—as if Oxford in 1870 still believed that this world (and especially Oxford) was the centre of the universe. Whilst, as regards the question of cosmic eternity, Rupert Glanville would, no doubt, have been surprised to learn that they were discussing that point in the most abstruse way as early as the thirteenth century. No doubt there were theologians (and, be it remembered, scientists) who were just awakening to the possibility of untold æons preceding the appearance of the first human couple—but to consider that the literal exponents of the chronology of Genesis were the orthodox party is but another evidence of the impetuosity of the boy-philosopher, Rupert Glanville. Again, what shall we make of such a phrase as this: "the association of all life with its exact organic equivalents"? Rupert seems to have learned the prodigious fact from "the scientific thinkers who frequented" his uncle's house. Evidently these gentlemen belonged not so much to the class of those who think, but to that other class of those who think they

think. It seems a pity that their early logical training had been neglected. For what can anyone make of the word "equivalents" except that it begs (and bags) the whole question? It is quite clear, or at least highly probable, that science has shown that material energy, on passing from one form to another (if, indeed, it does pass from one form to another) passes into its exact equivalent. One pound of hydrogen and oxygen ought to result in one pound of water. But who is to say that any organic activity is the *equivalent* of any spiritual activity, granted that there may be a spiritual activity? The "scientific thinkers" who so appealed to the lad who loved circus clowns were really bungling over the absolutely different ideas of "accompaniment" and "equivalent." Because they remarked a cerebral accompaniment of thought they claimed it as an equivalent of thought. As well claim that Rupert's shadow was the equivalent of Rupert's visible self, because it always accompanied him whenever he was visible. This primary muddling of thought led with a kind of pathetic fatality to an equal muddling of deduction. Listen to the further paralogism which Rupert naïvely fathers on the scientific thinkers who sat at his uncle's table. "From these facts, as I was not slow to see, two conclusions followed, and the men of science had no hesitation in drawing them. One was (*mirabile dictu!*) that God—if such a name were permissible—was merely the impersonal sum of the forces and uniformities of the universe; and the other was (*mirabilius dictu!*) that men, no less than pigs and potatoes, came into life with their bodies, and died for ever with the death of them." It is almost impossible to believe that Mr. Mallock means this to be taken seriously. Certainly if these conclusions follow, to Rupert Glanville's way of thinking, his must be a very original way of thinking. Try the argument in logical form, thus:

The Earth is immense—and apparently eternal (!)—the human race is of recent appearance thereon—much more recent than we should be led to suppose if we accepted the chronology of Genesis literally (which many commentators do not); moreover, life is accompanied by organic modifi-

cations which, when partially inhibited, cause the derangement, and when totally inhibited, cause the death of the organ.

Therefore, there is no personal GOD!!!

Therefore, the human soul is not immortal!!!

This conclusion, it must be confessed, if it is at all intellectual, must have been arrived at by some process other than logic. But to be fair to it, we should perhaps regard it in the light of a discovery rather than a ratiocination. To the present writer it serves to demonstrate one not unimportant fact—that the banishment of Aldrich from the Oxford schools has not been all gain. But again we may ask Mr. Mallock if he is surprised that the official apologists for revealed religion show a somewhat natural indisposition to entrust the defence of Christianity to the paralogsms of that charming Admirable Crichton, Rupert Glanville.

It is quite intelligible that Rupert Glanville, or Mr. Mallock for that matter, should set little store by the defence of theology made by theologians who can do no better than Mr. Mallock makes them do in his third book, entitled *The Church to the World*. In some thirty pages the author contrives to present what he, no doubt, meant for the apologetics of the Broad High Church (Bishop of Glastonbury), the Low Church (Mr. Maxwell), the Broad Church (Canon Morgan), and the Ritualistic High Church (Fr. Skipton). We must be grateful to Mr. Mallock that he has not introduced a Roman Catholic priest; for the apologetics of these four spokesmen of the Establishment are in few cases accurate, and in some cases are little less than grotesque. It would be impossible to correct all the untrue statements and exaggerations and misunderstandings of this part of Mr. Mallock's work. The whole would need re-writing; or, better still, excision. If Mr. Mallock really thinks that nothing better can be offered as a defence of revealed religion, it is a pity he does not read a little more or a little more discriminately.

Once the feeble defence of these four clergymen of the Establishment has been made, a new book, entitled *The World to the Church*, introduces the attack of modern science on revealed religion as opposed to natural

religion. Mr. Mallock takes exactly three pages to reject the Old Testament. Some of my readers will ask with surprise, "Pray, how does he manage to do it?" It is very wonderful, but he does it chiefly through the mouths of two of his ladies, who quote St. Augustine, Driver, Farrar, Harnack, Sanday, and the Abbé Loisy. Our unbiassed judgment on this section is that Mr. Mallock has created a record in the matter of destructive criticism. The whole of the Old Testament refuted in three pages is an astounding performance, which, no doubt, Mr. Mallock will be proud of.

A somewhat lengthier treatment (or, more accurately, maltreatment) is given to the New Testament. A characteristic passage may be cited :

"The Gospels, however, when submitted to impartial criticism, are found to be patchworks of various documents, and the various dates of these, and their various discrepancies as to detail, show that as records of detailed and minute occurrences the Gospels in all their parts are not of the same value. As to many of the incidents narrated, the discrepancies are less marked than the agreements, and prove rather than disprove the substantial truth of the narrative ; but as to certain others, the exact reverse is the case, and these other incidents happen to be precisely those which orthodox Christianity regards as most sure and important. Amongst them, to begin with, is the miraculous birth of Christ. In the earlier versions of the Gospels all mention of the fact is wanting ; nor was it so much as suspected by the early Church itself. So indubitable has this become that orthodox scholars of to-day have been driven to suppose that the Church learnt it first from the Virgin Mother, who revealed it in her old age."

We are not surprised to find that the "scientific thinker" responsible for this piece of thinking is no other than our friend Rupert Glanville. *Ex pede Herculem*. It bears his private mark. It is redolent of that transfigured intellectualism of his which is not logic. There is a delightful bribe offered to orthodox scholars in that substantial agreement of the Gospel in matters which do not matter. Take notice of the clever word "discrepancies." He speaks of

agreements and *discrepancies*, not of agreements and disagreements. But the ordinary reader would pass over the expression. Then he goes on to remark that the miraculous birth of Christ is not mentioned by the "earlier versions of the Gospels." He could not call this a disagreement between the earlier and the later versions, unless Mr. Mallock's own *Veil of the Temple* disagrees with his *Religion as a Credible Doctrine*, because the later work adds to the earlier. But, of course, he can cover his position by the ambiguous word "discrepancies." Let us try to put Rupert Glanville's intellectual process into a logical form, thus:

The earlier versions of the Gospel do not contain the miraculous birth of Jesus, but the later versions do.

Therefore the miraculous birth of Jesus is untrue!!

It is perfectly evident that if these intellectual processes of Mr. Glanville are valid, we have no means of proving anything historical, and certainly no means of convincing him of a sin against logic. With the same fine dialectical weapon of attack Mr. Mallock makes short work of the Resurrection and the Ascension, and one section of the ploughed field is satisfactorily effected.

His next thought is turned towards natural religion, which he at once proceeds to turn into a ploughed field. Put into logical form, which—*pace* Rupert Glanville—has its advantages, the first argument runs thus:

Nature represents God—if there be a God—as careful of the species and careless of the individual—and as making contrivances which are full of defects.

Therefore Nature does not reveal God as a Moral Governor.

This argument of Glanville's is somewhat more logical than those I have already been obliged to discuss. Indeed, we may concede a good part of Mr. Cosmo Brock's conclusion: "To call the cosmos, or the all, or the Supreme Power, or the Supreme Being, bad or stupid, or even imperfect, would, in my judgment, be the folly of the petulant child; but to call it good or wise or benevolent would be folly of still greater magnitude." Be it remarked that as far as we know no apologist of theism ever attempted

to prove the goodness of the Supreme Being directly from the survival of the fittest or from the evidences of design. As goodness is a moral category, it is clear that it must be discovered by the moral sense, even though it may be confirmed by processes of pure ratiocination. Moreover, it is perfectly sound theology to say that the category of goodness as applied to the finite is not strictly applicable to the Infinite. The Supreme Being must be transcendently good, *i.e.*, transcendently just and merciful. If we feel ourselves obliged to apply these categories to God, even Mr. Brock will allow that no opposition will start up from the side of natural science. Rupert Glanville should remember that the argument he urges has borrowed no new weight, though it has gathered new vividness from the findings of the inductive sciences. The question of evil in nature in relation to the goodness of God is in no sense a discovery of the nineteenth century. Rupert Glanville seems to have overlooked the fact that Christian apologists have frankly stated it with almost despairing realism. Its force has never been shirked. But in its appalling seriousness they have never dealt with it with that "general flippancy" which Mr. Mallock so feebly apologises for in the prologue to his work. On the contrary, they have laid it bare in its most ghastly truth. But, above all, they have given it an answer which we should be sorry to see identified with Mr. Mallock's account of the answer.

It would be impossible to follow Rupert Glanville in all his superstitious rites to the idol of Science, which would surprise no one more than the true scientist. He seems to take a pride in having read the very latest books and assimilated the very latest theories. Thus, he takes up the idea of sub-consciousness so paraded before our eyes as one of the most important discoveries of the past fifty years. He does not seem to know that numbers of experts consider the psychological fact one of very ancient discovery, and the word a misnomer. But to Glanville, with his boyish ingeniousness, we have "reiterated an experimental proof of a truth which Hegel—and probably Huxley—would have looked on as a contradiction in terms. We see feeling, memory, hope, fear, imagination, and the

most elaborate reasoning going on as cerebral processes, of which consciousness forms no part." It would be hard to match this as a piece of primeval superstition, though, to be sure, in this case the peculiar idol is the *Deus Recens* of Science.

Take again the case of radio-activity, which Rupert Glanville delights to show his acquaintance with. The less headlong chemists are extremely guarded in what they say of it. But to Glanville: "Since Huxley the missing link has been found. One of these elements, radium, has been actually detected changing itself into another element, helium. . . . Our own is" (and here Rupert Glanville quotes a specialist) "that the atom preserves its identity in the same manner that a cell does, and bears the same relation to the latter that it does to a living organism. The distinction, apparently insuperable, that the biologist holds to exist between living and so-called dead matters should thus pass away as a false distinction and all Nature appear a manifestation of life; this being the play of units of we know not what, save that it is what we call *electricity*." It is consoling to find that Transubstantiation is no longer a mere miraculous dogma of faith, but a principle of chemistry! Again, what a display of scientific faith—or, shall we call it, credulity—is witnessed in Glanville's naïve conviction that the gaps between the inorganic and the organic, the sentient and the intellectual world have been filled up during the past twenty-five years! Such unexpected survivals of primeval simplicity are charming to witness. But though they endear their devotee to our sympathy, they do not recommend him as an authority.

But I must hasten from Mr. Mallock's ploughed field to Mr. Mallock's sketch of a new plan of defence. On looking over the plan—and even on looking over it again and again—I confess myself puzzled. Perhaps I might sum it up in Glanville's own words: "Science forces us to recognise the hopes and the beliefs of religion as merely delusions of a mind whose knowledge is incomplete. Then, turning from science to our conception of human life, we have seen that in proportion as these delusions are taken from us, the value of life itself disappears in a corresponding

way ; or, in other words, that the beliefs which are our supreme delusions, scientifically operate in practical life as the supreme germinating truths—that whilst science is stultified, if we accept them, civilisation is stultified if we don't." It would be a hard task to track every inaccuracy and misunderstanding in this paradox. Rupert Glanville, to my way of thinking, has a marvellously ingenious conception of science. He looks on scientists as all united in a complete *credo* of scientific conclusions. But this is merely to idealise. Unanimity like this is rarely found, and certainly not in the realms of physical science. There are numbers of excellent scientists who flatly contradict Glanville's conclusions. Mr. Mallock identifies religion with belief in three truths—the existence of a personal God, free-will, and immortality ; and rightly so. But he affirms that science absolutely contradicts these three truths, and this is preposterous. Let us hear such a typical scientist as Huxley, writing in the *Fortnightly Review*, vol. xl., 1886 : "If the belief in a God is essential to morality, physical science offers no obstacle thereto ; if the belief in immortality is essential to morality, physical science has no more to say against the probability of that doctrine than the most ordinary experience has, and it effectually closes the mouths of those who pretend to refute it by objections deduced from mere physical data." Does Mr. Mallock know such opinions as these? If he does not, then he should enter into explanations with science ; if he does, then it would seem imperative that he should enter into explanations with himself. In either case, he must learn greater accuracy in thought, or greater accuracy in speech—and, I might add, greater dilatoriness in publishing books of apologetics. I do not mean to urge the futile argument that Huxley's dictum clenches the matter. But I do mean to urge that if Huxley and other scientists recognise that physical science has not a word to say against the three root truths of religion, then it is highly reprehensible of Mr. Mallock to represent scientists as absolutely agreed. Simple-minded readers of *The Veil of the Temple* will come away with the idea that even as scientists are absolutely agreed in maintaining that oxygen

and hydrogen unite to form common water, so are they agreed in denying a personal God, free-will, and immortality. This is a fundamentally false impression, conveyed by not a little literature, of which there are several worse types than *The Veil of the Temple*. And as the beliefs of the simple-minded are not a simple but a serious matter, no amount of "general flippancy" or of general brilliancy of style will revalidate this congenital flaw.

Lastly, Rupert Glanville's attempted plan of defence is, after all, of the old highwayman type. He says to Science: "Look here! you have proved conclusively that there is no personal God, no free-will, and no eternal life—you infallible scoundrel. But if you don't give up these conclusions you must take the consequences. Your money or your life." This may be called the blunderbuss argument. Now, it must not be supposed for a moment that this type of argument is wrong. It is radically right. But it is wrong to think that this is the only, or the only fundamental, proof of the three truths of theistic religion. It is purely a negative proof which must be resorted to only when other positive proofs are ineffectual. There are numbers of the body politic who would not be led to the practice of the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal," by any appeals to the metaphysical basis of ethics, or to the theories of Utilitarianism, or to the "following of Christ." Such men can only be led to keep the commandment under fear of penal servitude. Yet it would be as absurd to say that dread of penal servitude was the only basis of the commandment as to say that the emptying of life was the only apology that could be made for the truths, or—as Mr. Mallock would call them—the untruths, of religion. Human nature may be content to rest its over-belief on a mystery, but not on a paradox taken in its most rigid sense. Dryden reminds us that

"The literal sense is hard to flesh and blood,
But nonsense never can be understood"

—nor believed, for that matter.

At the end of all I have written, the thought comes

upon the present writer that, after all, any effort to point out the rents and disfigurements in the *Veil of the Temple* must be a twining of ropes of sand. The questions that come up for solution in Mr. Mallock's painful book are the most serious in life; nay, they are life itself. If ever a man needed to keep his mind fixed steadily upon the process and its issues without scruple and yet without levity, with a full consciousness both of the stake and issue and of the delicacy of the problem, surely it is whilst considering whether there is a God above him, freedom within him, and eternity before him. Yet Mr. Mallock begins his book with an apology for general flippancy and ends it with an oath! The truth is that he does not see that his method of discussing these truths is one that ill-assorts with their sacredness, or at least, their importance. Mr. Mallock has turned his mind to many subjects, and adorned them all with some *ex-voto* of his brilliant wit. When next he writes—and I could hope that it would be after many months—let him take for his subject the mental and moral qualities necessary for an apprehension of the higher truths and issues of life. By that time he will have learned why it is that, with all his earnestness and gifts of mind, he has not yet been privileged to peer behind the *Veil of the Temple*.

V. McNABB.

ART. III.—RECENT EXCAVATIONS OF BIBLICAL SITES IN PALESTINE.

OUR museums have long been stocked with relics unearthed at Khorsabad and Nimroud, Nippur and Murgheir, Abydos and the Pyramids ; Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt have for more than fifty years been compelled by the excavator's spade to tell the story of their past.

Up to recent years, however, the sacred soil of Palestine has seemed to resist the excavator ; and though Jerusalem has been explored as fully, perhaps, as an inhabited city well could be, yet the surrounding Biblical sites have not been forced to contribute their quota to the flood of "light from the East" which other sites, more remotely connected with the Bible, have poured upon it for more than half a century. The surface of the country we know well : perhaps no land has been so diligently surveyed as Palestine, and the list of recovered sites is formidable ; but Kariath-Sepher still jealously guards its buried library, and Samaria and Thirsa are still little more than names.

Want of funds and a difficulty in obtaining the necessary permits, as well as the unsettled state of the country, are doubtless accountable for this. This is to be regretted, for "the logic of the spade" is possessed of a telling force. It is indeed not a little remarkable that excavators and archæologists are, comparatively speaking, very conservative in their criticism of the Bible. As one of them remarked not long ago : "Most of our modern exegetes give us the smell of the lamp and of the study rather than that of the desert."

The closet-critic must almost infallibly judge of the life and civilisation of the past upon which he is engaged from

the standpoint of the life in which he is himself living, and of the civilisation in which he is steeped ; whereas the explorer and excavator steps into the "immovable East" and finds himself "in the Bible." The air he breathes, the hot flush of the desert on his cheek, the scenery around him, its arid plains, its rills, its wadies, its boulders, its fauna and flora, are what Abraham, Moses and Esdras, Job, David and Ezechias breathed, felt and saw long before him. The speech he hears is at least akin to that of Abraham ; the very sheik who meets him is perhaps the counterpart of "our father Abraham." All this tends to make the explorer conservative in his views of the Sacred Text and its interpretation. When he steps off the boat on to the soil of Palestine he has gone back a thousand years ; German views, German theories, and German theology all fade away, and his ready-made Biblical science falls off him like a garment.

Yet of both the critic in his closet and the excavator with his spade we must avow that they start with a preconceived theory. The critic, if he belong to modern schools, has his more or less explicitly avowed rejection of the supernatural, and is prepared to withstand almost any evidence to the contrary ; while the explorer comes with a knowledge of his Bible, and, if he be about to examine some Biblical site, he has nothing to guide him except the Bible's account of it and its history. Other sources may be at his disposal, it is true ; Egyptian exploration may have already thrown out some hints about the site he is investigating ; Assyrian monarchs may have carried off its inhabitants, or its governor may have been one of those fascinating men to whom we owe what we may almost venture to call the "Romance" of the Tell-el-Amarna correspondence.

Yet surely to hold such a guiding-thread is all gain, for it is positive ; it is no mere guess-work, it is not subjective theory, it is objective fact, it is sober history woven of many conspiring threads ; vague, it may be, in parts, overgrown with legend in others, but that is precisely what the explorer is here to elucidate. With the thread in his hand—almost like St. Augustine's *fides quaerens intellectum*—he is going to unravel the skein on the spot, instead of

weaving weird fancies in the calm security of his study. It is easy for the closet-student to read his theories into his texts and not out of them ; it is not so easy to read them into concrete bricks and mortar.

After the yeoman service rendered by the Palestine Exploration Fund since 1865 in surveying the whole of the land, it was only fitting that England should again be the first in the field in excavating some of its buried cities. The society has certainly been fortunate in the choice of its instruments, and the names of Lord Kitchener, Colonel Conder, Sir Charles Warren, and Sir Charles Wilson, however illustrious in other spheres, will always be associated with the work of the great survey. Similarly in its archæological excavations the society has been fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Flinders Petrie, Mr. Bliss, and Mr. Macalister, the last-named being now actively engaged at Gezer.*

It is this last-named site which is engaging the attention of Biblical scholars at present. Its history is of unrivalled interest, for its position made it one of the keys of Palestine. The physical configuration of the Holy Land has always been a determining factor in its history, and it must still play the same part in our study of its records. It would be no exaggeration to say that the Books of Kings, of the Maccabees, and the History of Josephus are unintelligible to the student who has not a very clear knowledge of the startling alternations of hill and valley, of brook and torrent, which make this country so compact and so fitted to be the theatre of numberless campaigns. Palestine lay between the two great world-powers of the fifteen hundred years preceding the birth of Christ. When Egypt warred with either Assyria or Babylonia, the Holy Land was perforce the great highway along which their opposing armies travelled. And it was peculiarly fitted to be so. If we travel from Joppa to Jerusalem by rail, we have this peculiar feature of Palestine brought very prominently before us. We first cross the maritime plain in which Lydda and Ramleh stand, and then we enter the vale of

* Gazer, in the Douay version generally.

Sorek, which carries us up the Shephelah, or low-hill country. This was the debateable ground between the Philistines and the Hebrews. Broken up by innumerable cross valleys with rounded hills, it was the key to the upper hill country of Ephraim; and there, by its various and tortuous ascending valleys, lay the way to Jerusalem itself. But more than that, it formed an easy road for hordes advancing from the south to the plain of Esdraelon, and thence to the Euphrates. In this way its various cities were the keys, not merely to the vales whose entrances they guarded, but also to the land of Syria beyond. It is for this reason that Lachis, Geth, Gezer, and Megiddo played such a conspicuous part in the pre-Christian period, and later, too, in the Crusading times.

Lachis (Tell-el-Heog) and Gath (Tell-es-Safi) have been already explored, and Megiddo is now being examined, with the help of generous funds contributed by the German and Prussian Governments. Gezer fell to the share of the English Palestine Exploration Fund, and its examination has not yet been concluded. A reference to a few passages in the Bible will show us the supreme interest which attaches to this site.

It figures in Josue's first campaign :—

"At that time Horem, King of Gazer, came up to succour Lachis: and Josue slew him with all his people, so as to leave none alive."*

It served as the S.W. boundary of Ephraim :—

"And goeth down westward, by the border of Jephleti, unto the borders of Beth-horon the nether, and to Gazer: and the countries of it are ended by the great sea:

"And Manasses and Ephraim, the children of Joseph, possessed it."†

And, most instructive of all :—

"And the children of Ephraim slew not the Chanaanite, who dwelt in Gazer: and the Chanaanite dwelt in the midst of Ephraim until this day, paying tribute."

*Jos. x. 33.

† *Ibid.*, xvi. 3-4.

A statement which is repeated in Jud. i. 29. Moreover, it was a Levitical city :—

“And to the rest of the families of the children of Caath of the race of Levi was given this possession.

“Of the tribe of Ephraim, Sicheim, one of the cities of refuge, with the suburbs thereof in Mount Ephraim, and Gazer.”*

We hear no more of this half-Canaanite, half-Hebrew city till we come to the reign of David :—

“And David did as God had commanded him, and defeated the army of the Philistines, slaying them from Gabaon to Gazera.”†

The corresponding text in 1 Sam. v. 25 reads Gezer, and the divergence should be noted as throwing light on the nomenclature in the time of the Maccabees. But the statement is also of interest as indicating a third dominant class, namely, the Philistines, who seem to have driven out the Hebrews from it entirely, and possibly the Canaanites also, and to have made it one of their centres :—

“After this there arose a war at Gazer against the Philistines ; in which Sabachai the Husathite slew Saphai of the race of Raphaim, and humbled them.”‡

It should be noted, however, that in 2 Sam. xxi. 18 this episode is said to have taken place in Gob. But it is in the days of Solomon that Gezer becomes peculiarly interesting :—

“And Hiram sent to king Solomon a hundred and twenty talents of gold.

“This is the sum of the expenses which king Solomon offered to build the house of the Lord, and his own house, and Mello, and the wall of Jerusalem, and Heser, and Mageddo, and Gazer.

“Pharao the king of Egypt came up and took Gazer, and burnt it with fire : and slew the Chanaanite that dwelt in the city, and gave it for a dowry to his daughter, Solomon’s wife.

“So Solomon built Gazer, and Bethhoron the nether.”§

* *Ibid.*, xxi. 20-21.

‡ 1 Chron. xx. 4.

† 2 Sam. v. 25.

§ 3 Kings. ix. 14-17.

Thus the Biblical record alone tells us of succeeding Canaanite, Hebrew and Canaanite, Philistine, Egyptian, and Hebrew occupations. The veil falls over Gezer, as far as the Bible narrative is concerned, for several hundred years, and does not lift again till the Maccabees appear on the scene.

Early in the contest Judas Maccabæus took the city :—

“And he took the city of Gazer and her towns, and returned into Judea.”*

A little later it seems to have fallen into Nicanor's hands, for his defeated adherents are pursued to its walls :—

“And they pursued after them one day's journey from Adazer, even till ye come to Gazara, and they sounded the trumpets after them with signals.”†

After Judas' death the whole country fell into the hands of Bacchides, the general of Demetrius, and he fortified Gezer after the uprising under Jonathan :—

“In the mean time when Demetrius heard that Nicanor and his army were fallen in battle, he sent again Bacchides and Alcimus into Judea : and the right wing of his army with them.”

* * *

“And he fortified the city of Bethsura, and Gazara, and the castle, and set garrisons in them, and provisions of victuals.”‡

After the repulse of Bacchides, we find John the son of Simon Maccabæus occupying Gazara as its Governor, and under the father and son the city was fortified anew :—

“And Simon saw that John his son was a valiant man for war : and he made him captain of all the forces : and he dwelt in Gazara.”§

* * *

“And he gathered together a great number of captives, and had the dominion of Gazara, and of Bethsura, and of the castle : and took away all uncleanness out of it, and there was none that resisted him.”||

“And he fortified Joppe which lieth by the sea : and Gazara, which bordereth upon Azotus, wherein the enemies dwelt before,

* 1 Macc. v. 8. † *Ibid.*, vii. 45.
§ *Ibid.*, xiii. 54.

‡ 1 Macc. ix. 1. 52.
|| *Ibid.*, xiv. 7.

and he placed Jews there, and furnished them with all things convenient for their reparation.”*

This fortification of Gezer is explained by xiii. 43-48, where we should read Gazara instead of Gaza, as is clear from Josephus xiii., *Antiq.* vi. 7, and *1 Wars.* ii. 2. The R. V. has made this change :—

“In those days Simon besieged Gaza, and camped round about it, and he made engines, and set them to the city, and he struck one tower, and took it.

“And they that were within the engine leapt into the city : and there was a great uproar in the city.

“And they that were in the city went up with their wives and children upon the wall with their garments rent, and they cried with a loud voice, beseeching Simon to grant them peace.

“And they said : Deal not with us according to our evil deeds, but according to thy mercy.

“And Simon being moved, did not destroy them : but yet he cast them out of the city, and cleansed the houses wherein there had been idols, and then he entered into it with hymns, blessing the Lord.”†

It should be noted that the lxx. text of *1 Macc.* varies in reading : Γάζηρα, Γάζαρα, Γάζηρ, and a plural form, Γάζάροις and Γάζάριον. It is just possible that this latter form may be due to the *two* hills on which the city lies, a view which explains also the Hebrew dual forms for Egypt and Jerusalem.

The story of the first identification of the site reads almost like a romance. Its position could, of course, be approximately defined from the biblical accounts, but the general tendency of scholars was to place it near to Joppa. In the year 1871 M. Clermont Ganneau, the well-known archæologist, came across a passage in the *Arabian Chronicle of Jerusalem*, Moudjir-ed-Din, to the effect that the shouts of those engaged in a *melée* at a village called Khouлда could be heard at Tell-el-Djezer. Now Khouлда was known, and the discovery of Gezer followed immediately, though beyond the evident signs that the site had once been occupied by a large city, there was nothing to

* *Ibid.*, xiv. 34.

† *Ibid.*, xiii. 43-48.

identify it with the city of which he was in search till it was found that the inhabitants of a little village partly occupying the Tell knew the site as Tell-el-Djezer.

It was not till 1874, however, that any further confirmation of his discovery was made. In that year he found a bi-lingual inscription engraved on a wall in the near neighbourhood. The inscription read: "The boundary of Gezer—of Alkios," the last-named being possibly the magistrate during whose term of office the stone was erected. But more than this, M. Clermont Ganneau opined that since the inscription made no mention of any other town, it must not be read "The limits *between* Gezer and some other place," but must be understood to mean the extreme boundary of the city magistracy *in that direction*, and that consequently we ought to expect similar boundary stones about equidistant from the city in other directions. This happy hypothesis was amply verified when another stone was found about one hundred and ninety yards from the first. In 1881 he added a third, and in 1898 P. Lagrange, O.P., discovered a fourth.

In addition, Egyptian explorations have thrown considerable light on the history of the town. Its name was long ago read on the columns at Karnak, where Thothmes III., of the eighteenth dynasty, inscribed the list of his conquests; it also occurs on the slab of Meneptah of the nineteenth dynasty. But the Tell-el-Amarna tablets furnish us with the most interesting information.

Letter 50, B.M. (viz: of the British Museum collection) runs as follows: "To the king, my Lord, my God, my Sun, the sun from the heavens, thus (says) Yapa'a, the chief of the city of Gazei (Gezer), thy servant, the dust of thy feet, a chief captain of thy horse. At the feet of the king my Lord—the sun from the heavens, seven times and seven times bow indeed both this heart and this body; and whatever the king my Lord says to me I listen to exceeding much. I am the king's servant, the dust of thy feet. And the king my Lord shall learn. Behold the chief of my brethren; fellows foreign to me also strive for the city of Mu(r)a'azi, and the delivery of the same is the demand of men of blood; and now behold what has arisen against

me, and counsel as to thy land. Let the king send to the chief who is his friend against one (who is his foe?)” *

It is clear from this that at the time of the correspondence (it covers the reigns of Amenophis III. and IV.) Gezer and many other cities of Palestine were under the suzerainty of Egypt, and that some force hostile to Egypt was attacking the various cities of Palestine. Who their foes were we learn from other letters—they were the 'Abiri, who may very probably represent the Hebrews. We learn from another letter that the fall of Gezer, which the former letter shows to have been imminent, actually took place shortly afterwards. Thus Letter 103 B(erlin) reads: “Let him (Pharaoh) know that they have fought all the lands that have been at peace with me; and let me warn the king as to his land. Lo! the land of the city of Gezer, and the land of the city of Ascalon, and the land of the city of (Lachish?) they have given for themselves.”

It is worth noting that this letter is from a king of Jerusalem whose name appears to be—though much mutilated on the tablet—Adonizedek—*cf.* Jos. x. 1; and for Yapa'a, the king of Gezer, note the same name—Japhia, given to the king of Lachis, Jos. x. 3.

In Crusading times Gezer played an important part owing to its strategic value. It was the scene of a battle wherein Saladin was repulsed A.D. 1177, but in 1252 it was surrendered to the Moslems by S. Louis, who made a treaty with Egypt. By the Franks it was known as Mont Gisart.

“Shades of King Hiram, what hosts of men have fallen round that citadel of yours! On what camps and columns has it looked through the centuries since first you saw the strange Hebrews burst with the sunrise across the hills, and chase your countrymen down Ajalon—that day when the victors felt the very sun conspiring with them to achieve the unexampled length of battle. Within sight of every Egyptian and every Assyrian invasion of the land, Gezer has also seen Alexander pass by, and the legions of Rome in unusual flight, and the armies of

* The translation of the letters is taken from Col. Conder's edition.

the Cross struggle, waver, and give way, and Napoleon come and go. If all could rise who have fallen round its base—Ethiopians, Hebrews, Assyrians, Arabs, Turcomans, Greeks, Romans, Celts, Sanads, Mongols—what a rehearsal of the Judgment Day would it be! Few of the travellers who now rush across the plain realise that the first conspicuous hill they pass in Palestine is also one of the most thickly haunted—even in that narrow land into which history has so crowded itself. But upon the ridge of Gezer no sign of all this now remains, except in the name Tell Jezer.”*

It is easy to understand the interest attaching to the excavation of such a site as this, and in the light of subsequent discoveries the following passage from a paper on the “History and Site of Gezer,” published before the excavation was begun, shows what was to be anticipated from the explorations:—

“While it is unprofitable to indulge in vain speculations as to what may or may not await the explorer of this mound, it is hardly possible to avoid reflecting that, as three letters of the Palestine side of the Tell-el-Amarna correspondence came from Gezer, it is only reasonable to expect one or two letters from the Egyptian side of the correspondence within the site; and that traces of the early Levitical occupation, of the Philistines, of the destruction and restoration of the city under Solomon, of its fortification by Bacchides, and of its tenure by the Crusaders, should not be sought in vain. Besides these landmarks of local history, upon which light ought to be thrown, we have wider problems before us, to the solution of which the projected excavations should help us. In a brief paper, read at the General Meeting of the Fund (July 16th, 1901), I have already indicated some of these: the disposal of the dead by the pre-Israelite tribes, the nature and extent of the Mycenaean and Egyptian influence on Palestine culture; the period of the introduction of iron; and the ethnological affinities of the Philistines and other coast-dwellers.”†

How far these expectations have been realised will appear from the sequel, though I am more concerned in this

* Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 217.

† Quarterly Statement Pal. Expl. Fund, July, 1902.

paper with the illustrations of Bible history afforded by the exploration. Excavation of a buried city is no mere question of strong arms and trusty spades. It has been reduced to an art, and this mainly through the scientific work of Flinders Petrie among the archæological remains of Egypt.

In the latter country, mud-built city is built upon mud-built city, and the decaying remains of the latter serve for the foundation of the former. In Palestine much the same procedure has been followed, but in the case of fortified towns like Lachish and Gezer, fortifications and walls are heaped indiscriminately upon those of a preceding occupation. In this way strata of *débris* are superimposed one upon the other, and the work of the explorer consists in gradually peeling off stratum after stratum. As each is laid bare it is planned and photographed, and the various relics found are carefully tabulated. It is evident that when a city like Gezer has through long centuries been of strategical importance, these various strata will, as exposed, enable us to read backwards the history of the town, much in the same way as the succeeding versions of the Bible reveal the history of interpretation in the course of the centuries.

It is hardly necessary to point out that, while the already-known history of a town thus to be explored serves as a guide to, and also as a check upon, the explorer, the tabulated results serve in their turn as an invaluable confirmation of, or it may be, disproof of, the previous historic records.

In the case of Gezer, reading history backwards, we shall expect to find successive strata indicating the successive occupations of the town by the Crusaders, *c.* 1200 A.D.; the early Christians, *c.* 100-200 A.D.; the Maccabees, *c.* 150 B.C.; the Jewish Monarchy, 1000-500 B.C.; the Levitical occupation, 1400-1000 B.C.; the Canaanite occupation before 1400 B.C.; and perhaps we may find traces of still earlier inhabitants.

The excavations commenced in the latter part of the year 1902, and at the time of writing (October, 1904) a great deal has been done, and the lowest strata of the mound on which the city rests have been examined. It

would be out of place here to enter into details with regard to the objects discovered, but some account of the results achieved, and of their relation to the Biblical accounts of the place, will be of interest.

Working from above downwards, we should naturally expect to come first upon traces of the Crusaders; but little or nothing has been found, probably owing to the fact that the town somewhat shifted its area, so that the modern cemetery and some modern dwellings cover the probable Crusading site. Similarly, few remains of the Roman occupation have been unearthed beyond fragments of mosaic *tesserae*, which may indicate the remains of a Roman house. The Seleucid and Maccabæan era, however, is well represented; the most remarkable discovery being that of a pool measuring fifty-seven feet by forty-six, and twenty-five feet deep, while in its centre is a deep basin going down another twenty-four feet. Only Maccabæan remains were found in it when all the silt had been thoroughly searched. Ptolemaic coins attesting the influence of Egypt, and large numbers of jar-handles stamped with Rhodian emblems, indicate the foreign commerce. The pool shows the energy of the people, for it must have been excavated to serve as a town-reservoir when the cisterns of an older occupation had been lost owing to the accumulation of *débris*. The tombs in what is known as the Seleucid Cemetery have proved of great interest. They belong to the post-exilic period as a rule, but some of them contain Christian emblems, the most interesting of which are two signet-rings which gave impressions of our Blessed Lord and possibly of our Blessed Lady. A coin in the tomb should probably be dated about A.D. 356.

In view of the fortification of Gazara by Simon and Bacchides, we ought to be able to find some traces of their workmanship, but the study of the remains of the walls is very baffling, owing to the way in which they overlie one another. It is thought, however, that traces of the Maccabæan fortifications may be found in the second wall, which itself may be referred to Solomon's time. It must be confessed that the identifications dating from the Roman period backwards are somewhat disappointing, until we

come to a date earlier than that of Solomon, but we can afford the disappointment, since the period is not of such interest as that which precedes that sovereign, a period upon which the excavations have thrown the most unexpected light.

At the end of one of the very earliest trenches to be opened a monolith was unearthed which proved to be the herald of a most remarkable discovery. As the excavation proceeded a row of seven monoliths, with an eighth at some little distance, was unearthed. It soon became evident that a temple of very early date had been discovered, for a sacred cave, an alignment of monoliths, a square socketed stone, presumably for the reception of the Asherah pole of Semitic worship, and a boundary wall, were all exposed to view one after the other. What was its date? Who built it? Who worshipped in it? We recall at once the passage quoted above :—

“And to the rest of the families of the children of Caath of the race of Levi was given this possession.

“Of the tribe of Ephraim, Sichem, one of the cities of refuge, with the suburbs thereof in mount Ephraim, and Gazer.”*

May not this city have been bestowed upon them partly because it already possessed a temple wherein they could worship? We might compare the account of the Maccabæan purification of the site :—

“And Simon being moved, did not destroy them : but yet he cast them out of the city, and cleansed the houses wherein there had been idols, and then he entered into it with hymns, blessing the Lord.

“And having cast out of it all uncleanness, he placed in it men that should observe the law : and he fortified it, and made it his habitation.”†

Indeed it is not impossible that in the ruined monoliths which lie about we may see a proof of Simon's zeal.

An examination of the temple-area revealed several interesting facts. A bronze figure of a cobra may furnish a clue to the nature of the worship practised. We cannot help thinking of the zeal of Ezechias :—

* Jos. xxi. 20-21.

† 1 Macc. xiii. 47-48.

"He destroyed the high places, and broke the statues in pieces, and cut down the groves, and broke the brazen serpent, which Moses had made : for till that time the children of Israel burnt incense to it : and he called its name Nohestan." *

Mr. Macalister even thinks that in a peculiar circular structure found in the temple area we may have an enclosure for safe-guarding the serpents attached to the temple service, as was undoubtedly the practice at the temple of Aesculapius at Epidauras.

The most startling discovery, however, was made when the soil underlying the foundations was examined. This portion was found to be a cemetery for infants, and various details of their interment lead to the unavoidable conclusion that we have here undoubted instances of child-sacrifice. The bodies are buried in large pointed-bottomed jars and are laid in the neighbourhood of the great megaliths. It almost looks as though part of the rite accompanying the erection and consecration of these great stones was the slaughter or suffocation of an infant whose body was deposited at its foot. The sacred character of such stones in the eyes of the Semites is, of course, familiar to us from the example of Jacob :—

"And Jacob, arising in the morning, took the stone, which he had laid under his head, and set it up for a title, pouring oil upon the top of it.

"And this stone, which I have set up for a title, shall be called the house of God : and of all things that thou shall give to me, I will offer tithes to thee." †

Similar interments have since been discovered in Gezer under door-sills and under the foundations of houses. The custom throws a lurid light on those early days, and fully corroborates the picture given us of Moabite customs :—

"And when the king of Moab saw this, to wit, that the enemies had prevailed, he took with him seven hundred men that drew the sword, to break in upon the king of Edom : but they could not.

"Then he took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the

* 4 Kgs. xviii. 4.

† Gen. xxviii. 18-22.

wall : and there was great indignation in Israel, and presently they departed from him, and returned into their own country."*

The temple may be ascribed to the Canaanite occupation, and may, as I indicated, have motivated the assignment of the town to the Levitical tribe. But it should be noted that the Bible gives us to understand that the Canaanites were not displaced, but that Egyptians, Hebrews, and Philistines in succession occupied the town together with the Canaanites. A remarkable confirmation of this has been found in the course of the excavations. The temple area so exposed by the spade is covered with ruined walls which cross one another in the most bewildering way. Their nature was not at first clear, but, to quote Mr. Macalister's own words : "After drawing out the plans, I came to the conclusion that these buildings could not be associated by any feasible scheme of design with the alignment or boundary wall of the temple, and that they were, therefore, mere house walls erected when the sanctity of the temple was less respected, and probably under the necessity of housing an increased population (Canaanites plus Israelites) within the limits of the city wall. . . . The modern inhabitants of Avebury, who live among the stones of that great pre-historic site, are to some extent parallel to the Judæo-Canaanites, whose houses almost abut against the great stones of the temple of Gezer." A little further on, in the concluding summary of his report, Mr. Macalister writes : "A curious series of correspondences . . . may here be collected together in conclusion. A large temple is found in a city which, at the Israelite immigration, was assigned to the Levites : as the Levites were not forty years' distance from their orgiastic worship of the golden calf, and as the period during which the Jephthahs of Israel offered human sacrifices to the God of Israel had yet many decades to run, probably the temple with its attendant rites and ceremonies could pass from Canaanite to Israelite with little or no modification."†

* 4 Kgs. iii. 26-27.

† Needless to say that, while thinking Mr. Macalister's view by no means improbable, I do not endorse his remarks about Levitical worship and about Jephthe.

Further, the temple area, till then empty, is suddenly encroached on, while still retaining its sacred character, at a time corresponding with a sudden change of occupation in the strikingly parallel mound of Tell-el-Heoy.*

This can only mean that the population at that moment of time received a large increase, and accords well with the fact recorded in Joshua, that the old population was not driven out, but reduced to servitude by conquerors who crowded themselves into the city—already, probably, like all Oriental towns and villages, overstocked with inhabitants. At a time seemingly contemporary with the beginning of the monarchy, the town is as suddenly reduced by the depopulation of at least one-third of its area. It is practically impossible to avoid explaining this phenomenon by the massacre of the ancient Canaanite population under the Pharaoh whose daughter Solomon married.

I give again the passages relative to the Israelite occupation and to the destruction of the Canaanites by the Pharaoh:—

“And the children of Ephraim slew not the Chanaanite, who dwelt in Gazer: and the Chanaanite dwelt in the midst of Ephraim until this day, paying tribute.”†

“Pharao the king of Egypt came up and took Gazer, and burnt it with fire: and slew the Chanaanite that dwelt in the city, and gave it for a dowry to his daughter Solomon’s wife.”‡

The Bible would lead us to expect a transient influence of Egypt upon Gezer, but we have already seen that the halls of Karnak and the Tell-el-Amarna tablets bear witness to a very constant intercourse between Egypt and Palestine, and the enormous preponderance of Egyptian relics in every stratum of the newly-uncovered mound at Gezer testifies to this. Vast numbers of scarabs have been found and have been assigned by Egyptologists to various dates, but I need hardly observe that the evidence of a scarab-seal must be taken with considerable reserve. It stands to reason that such objects, made of exceedingly hard stone, are practically imperishable, and may be handed down from generation to generation, so that their presence among the ruins cannot well serve as a means of dating the latter.

* Lachis.

† Jos. xvi. 10.

‡ 3 Kgs. ix. 16.

Thus a scarab, possibly of the time of the Seventh Dynasty, found at Gezer, will not serve to date that city. But at the same time that Egyptian monuments earlier than the time of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties do not mention the town : about half of the scarabs found there are to be referred to the Twelfth Dynasty, a period about five hundred years earlier than the earliest Egyptian reference to the town. The witness of an individual scarab may be open to question, but when half of those found in a ruin are of approximately one date, we are justified in assuming that at that period the owners of these scarabs were in possession of the place. And this conclusion is corroborated by the discovery of a stèle near the High Place, which may with great probability be ascribed to the same period.

Reading backwards through the strata of remains so far uncovered, we find traces of Roman, Christian, Maccabæan, Seleucidan, Hebrew Monarchy, Canaanite, Egyptian, and again Canaanite and Egyptian occupations of the mound. Yet this is very far from being all. If a site is of strategical importance, it is sure to have been occupied from the earliest times. Our knowledge of the aboriginal inhabitants of Palestine is extremely meagre, but it is just excavations such as that of Gezer which may throw light upon them. We remember the report which the terrified spies brought back to Moses :—

“And they spoke ill of the land, which they had viewed, before the children of Israel, saying : The land which we have viewed, devoureth its inhabitants : the people, that we beheld, are of a tall stature.

“There we saw certain monsters of the sons of Enac, of the giant-kind : in the comparison of whom we seemed like locusts.”*

and this vivid picture was no product of their fevered imagination, for as Moses himself says, in reviewing the conquest of the east of the Jordan :—

“Only Og king of Basan remained of the race of the giants. His bed of iron is shewn, which is in Rabbath of the children of

* Numb. xiii. 33-34.

Ammon, being nine cubits long, and four broad after the measure of the cubit of a man's hand.

From other passages we might conclude that these giants were the Amorrrhites. Will the excavation of Gezer tell us anything of them? It is not improbable, for, that the race survived precisely in these cities, is clear from the account of Goliath of Gath and the other giants whom David's "heroes" engaged in combat. Again, in the account left us of Esau's descendants, we read of the Horrites, a people whose name seems to indicate a root meaning "to bore," from which we may surmise that they were cave-dwellers or troglodytes. It should be remarked that, whereas in Gen. xxxvi. they are apparently descendants of Esau, in Gen. xiv. and Deut. ii. they clearly precede the Edomites or children of Esau in their occupation of the land; thus compare Gen. xxxvi. 19-21:—

"These are the sons of Esau, and these the dukes of them: the same is Edom.

"These are the sons of Seir the Horrite, the inhabitants of the land: Lotan, and Sobal, and Sebeon, and Ana,

"And Dison, and Eser, and Disan. These are dukes of the Horrites, the sons of Seir in the land of Edom."

with Gen. xiv. 5-6:—

"And in the fourteenth year came Chodorlahomor, and the kings that were with him: and they smote the Raphaim in Astarothcarnaim, and the Zuzim with them, and the Emim in Save of Cariathaim,

"And the Chorreans in the mountains of Seir, even to the plains of Pharan, which is in the wilderness."

and with Deut. ii. 12:—

"The Horrites also formerly dwelt in Seir: who being driven out and destroyed, the children of Esau dwelt there, as Israel did in the land of his possession, which the Lord gave him."

Of the race of giants I may say at once that the excavations have found no trace as yet, though walls and pottery may be assigned to the Amorrrhites, but they have added considerably to our knowledge of the cave-dwellers of Palestine. A whole system of caves has been found, and their contents have afforded proof that they were excavated

by a troglodytic people, perhaps by the very Horrites of Genesis and Deuteronomy. It would take too long to give a detailed account of these caves, but a summary of their contents, and of the deductions which may not unreasonably be made from them, will be of interest. In the first place, their inhabitants practised cremation, for a carefully-made crematorium has been found with the debris of burnt human bodies; while a chimney, to serve as a draught-hole, ensured a sufficiently powerful blaze, at least near the door; a later generation used the same cave for disposing of their dead by inhumation, and several bodies were discovered lying at a higher level in the silt with which the cave had become choked. This cave had been built over at a later date, even the city walls had been carried across it, thus showing how completely it had passed out of knowledge. It is possible, too, that what I may venture to call their "High Place" has been discovered. On removing all the soil over an area measuring about eighty feet by ninety, it was found that the whole surface of the rock was filled with what are known as "cup-marks" or hollows of various sizes, some of them being eight feet across and nine inches deep, but the majority averaging six or eight inches across and five inches deep. Underneath this rock surface are caves, and passages are cut from the surface to the caves, which are entered by steps, while a shoot leading down to one of the caves suggests that blood from the sacrifices was disposed of in this way. In one of the caves a remarkable number of pig-bones were discovered. All this, of course, can only afford food for surmises, but its significance is much increased when we realise that we are dealing with vestiges of the habitations, and possibly of the religious practices, of a people whose dwellings have been overlaid with strata upon strata of cities which were themselves old in the time of Solomon. To what period can we assign these Troglodytes? They are pre-Semitic people, as the Bible itself shews. And if we are to put the first Semitic wave of immigration at approximately the time of Abraham and Hammurabi, we must refer these primitive inhabitants to the third millenium before Christ.

My space is limited, but I must refer to one other discovery. As I have already pointed out, it was hoped that some portion of the Tell-el-Amarna correspondence would be unearthed. At last a cuneiform tablet has been discovered, but instead of being a portion of that series of letters indicating connection with Egypt, it turned out to be a proof of an intimate connection between Gezer and Assyria—a connection which had never been suggested by the Bible. The contents of the tablet, as far as it is decipherable, are of no particular interest; but, to quote Dr. Pinches' words with regard to it: "The principal point in this document is naturally the date. Concerning this there is one important point to be noted, namely, that it is not the eponym* for the actual date who is mentioned, but the one of the preceding year, Assur-dura-usur, whose date is estimated as being 650 B.C., so that the present text was inscribed in 649 B.C., the year that the Assyrian king, Assur-bani-apli, or Assurbanipal, was directing his campaign in Babylonia against his brother Saosduchinos. How it is that Sagabbei, the eponym for the actual year, is not mentioned is not clear, unless it be that his election had taken place late and the news had not had time to reach Gezer, where the tablet was found. There is an important thing which may be argued from this, however, and that is, that the ignorance of the scribe as to who had been elected eponym for the year tells against any theory that the tablet had been written elsewhere and carried, either in ancient or in modern times, to the spot where it was found. It seems to show that it could not have been written at Nineveh, or anywhere in Assyria, for in that case the name of the eponym would almost certainly have been known to the scribe, or easily ascertainable, should he have been unaware of it."

If, then, the tablet was actually written at Gezer, as seems not impossible, it would argue, if not an Assyrian domination, at least the adoption of Assyrian habits of business, a fact which need not astonish us when we reflect upon the cuneiform script which the Tell-el-Amarna corres-

* The Assyrians dated their documents by the names of the presiding magistrate of the year; he is hence known as the "Eponym" of that year.

pondence shows us was in general use in Egypt and Palestine.

Enough has been said to show the deep interest attaching to this and similar investigations. I have passed over many points which claim the attention of archæologists and of students of comparative religion, not because they were without interest for the Biblical student, but because I wished to indicate, however cursorily, the wonderful series of coincidences which can be established between the history of Gezer as known from the Bible and as revealed by the spade. Thus I have said little or nothing about the pottery of various ages which has been unearthed, though it is of primary importance to the excavator as enabling him to date the various strata displayed. Nor have I discussed the various religious emblems discovered, the relics of Astarte-worship, the signs of Troglodytic and Amorrite cults. The question, too, as to the relation of stone, bronze and iron, as revealed in the course of the explorations, has not been touched upon, though it suggests many delicate problems, especially in view of such passages as the following :—

“ Now there was no smith to be found in all the land of Israel, for the Philistines had taken this precaution, lest the Hebrews should make them swords or spears.

“ So all Israel went down to the Philistines, to sharpen every man his plough-share, and his spade, and his axe, and his rake.

“ So that their shares, and their spades, and their forks, and their axes were blunt, even to the goad, which was to be mended.

“ And when the day of battle was come, there was neither sword nor spear found in the hand of any of the people that were with Saul and Jonathan, except Saul and Jonathan his son.

“ And the army of the Philistines went out in order to advance further in Machmas.”*

But sufficient has been said to prove that orthodox Biblical criticism has nothing to fear from the witness of modern excavations.

HUGH POPE, O.P.

* 1 Sam. xiii. 19-23.

ART. IV.—SATIRE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE Romantic revival of the last century brought with it a revival of interest in the Middle Ages, and to-day "Mediaevalism" is a force as well as a fashion. There are many forms thereof besides the mediaevalism of the historical novels and the mediaevalism of those who read them, but only the serious student of mediæval civilisation can realise its complexity and the limitations of some current interpretations. The Middle Age was not all stained glass and liturgy, nor yet pure chivalry, pageantry, and knight-errantry; still less one long record of popular misery, oppression, and revolt. There were many and powerful forces at work, keen activities, marvellous action and interaction, thought and passion in wonderful combinations of sweetness and strength. Then, as now, there was the political or moral crisis breaking in upon the daily round; from the daily round men looked forth upon the actors in the larger life; then, as now, men followed their leaders and criticised them; there was a public opinion and its expression.

It is thus that there has come to us from those days a body of literature, called for want of a better word satirical, but having in it less of pure satire than of other elements, ranging from genuine discontent and ardent desire for reform to good-humoured rallying and mere whimsical teasing or pure burlesque.

The age, all are agreed, was eminently religious and its interests to a great degree ecclesiastical and moral; it was inevitable that much of its lighter as of its more serious literature should be concerned with the Church and churchmen, that its satire should be directed against the vices of individuals and of societies.

Critics of the mediæval system have made capital out of such writing, and historians to whom the Reformation is the great fact of history have read in it anticipation of the spirit of that movement. In point of fact there was little of the spirit of revolt in mediæval satire: it was aimed mainly against abuses and in no wise against the system. The most trenchant satire came not from any heretical sect, but from orthodox members of the Church, for the most part themselves clerks, as, amongst Englishmen, the archdeacons Gerald Cambrensis and Walter Map, the bishop-theologian John of Salisbury, the monk Nigel Wireker, the singing clerk Langland, the country gentleman Gower, typical mediævals imbued with the spirit of the age and open to all its influences.

Their satire was not, however, in feeble strain; the age was vigorous, and its humour, broad rather than subtle, rang true. What is noteworthy in its spirit is the mingling of elements, its union of judgment and sympathy, of earnestness and playfulness, its condemnation of the actual in the light of the ideal.

A glance at some representative writings will reveal their tone. To quote first some lamentations on the general state of the Church at various times, complaints very common, especially at periods of political or social distress, when men's minds were more keenly alive to all the aspects of life:

"The pepul is weri,
The cheryche is grevyd."

Here is a "Song of the Church" written in 1261 amid the distressful days of the Barons' Wars:

"Now is accomplished, as I conceive, the plaint of Jeremiah, which you have often heard—who tells how this sole city full of people bewailing bitterly is now without marriage and put in contribution, the Lady of the people, that is holy Church very evidently, who is now disgraced and all put to sale; and truly is she in ill case, we see how. She laments and weeps, there is none who help her out of her desolation. Formerly clergy was free and uppermost, loved and cherished, nothing could be more so. Now it is enslaved and too much debased and trodden down. By those it is disgraced from whom it ought to have help; I dare not say more.

"The king and the Pope think of nothing else but how they may take from the clergy their gold and silver. This is the whole affair, that the Pope of Rome yields too much to the king to help his crown, the tenth of the clergy's goods he gives him and with that he does his will.

"I do not think that the king acts wisely, for he lives of robbery which he commits upon the clergy. He will never be a gainer by robbing holy Church; he knows it truly. He who seeks an example let him regard the king of France and his achievement." *

This song is representative enough, though containing features arising from the special circumstances of the political crisis, the Pope being regarded as in some sort the accomplice of the king in his weak tyranny. The loyal tone in which the writer speaks of Holy Church is paralleled in many similar songs:

"The Spouse of Christ is made venal, she that is noble, common; the altars are for sale; the Eucharist is for sale, although venal grace is vain and frivolous."

The whole of this poem, written in a quaint and not ungraceful Latin, is a lament on the want of spirituality in the Church and the simoniacal doings of its pastors. It must be remembered that the validity of such charges depend much on the moral standpoint adopted. The thirteenth century saw a movement in favour of greater purity in the workings of Church administration. To prelates like Grossteste of Lincoln or Archbishop Peckham, what had previously been current custom became simoniacal, and the writers quoted may be credited with similar views.

At times of desolation men turned their eyes with longing to Rome, "who used to be sovereign lady of kings, diadem of rulers, pride and beauty of the city and of the world; sun's ray, glowing gem of night, hammer of error, venger of wrong, sword of justice, abounding oil of goodness, bountiful hand stretched forth to the needy, right hand filled with good things, new blown flower which no weather shall shrivel, unfailing spring flowing with generous balm;

* St. Louis. This song in the original French, and an English translation, is printed in *Bibliotheca Curiosa: the Political Songs of England from the reign of John to that of Edward II.* Edited and translated by Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., &c., and revised by Edmund Goldsmid, F.R.H.S.—(Privately Printed, Edinburgh, 1884.)

rampart of religion, preserver of peace, glory of manners, torch of faith, right rule of good; standard of fatherland, who should be head of all as she was the beginning.”*

This is the ideal papacy towards which the age yearned, but in so far as the actual fell short of the ideal, at moments of disappointment, when the spiritual seemed swamped by the temporal, the same hand which painted thus the ideal, could put in the darker shades, and so the tale goes on:—

“But she has turned in the contrary way and unmindful of faith and right has turned the head tailwise. If *Caput* may be said to be derived from *capio* or *capiendo* then is she indeed the head for she takes all things:—

“ (Si caput a capio vel dixeris a capiendo,
Tunc est ipsa caput, omnia namque capit.)

* * * * *

“Once generous of what was hers nor greedy of blood she was wont to pour forth herself and her all to her people. Now on the contrary thirsting she thirsts and spilling the blood of others she drains her own.

* * * * *

“From the disease of the head the members have contracted pain and the children lament the sins of their parent. Once gracious and beautiful in virtue she who was head of the world has become head of vice.”

The picture is dark; how far it corresponds with the reality, how far blackened by the gloomy reflections of the moralist, is not now the point; we are concerned rather with the spirit than the appositeness of mediæval satire. The twelfth-century writer, with his keen appreciation of the nobility of the Papal idea, finds an echo in the fourteenth-century moralist of the “Wild Malvern Hills,” the lean scholar Langland:

“Imparfyt is that pope that al peple shulde helpe,
And sendeth hem that sleeth suche as he shulde save.”

Examples of such complaints of the incongruity between ideal and practice might be multiplied indefinitely. The indictments against Rome are not, of course, isolated; they are generally to be found in those “Songs of the

* Nigelli, *Speculum Stultorum*: The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammists of the Twelfth Century. Edited by Thomas Wright. Vol. i., p. 98. (*Rolls Series*).

Times" which, it must be remembered, have their end in criticism and spare not any in their rebuke.

Next to the unspirituality of the spiritual powers and the avarice of those in high places, it was the luxury of the great, layman and ecclesiastic, that the moralist lashed most unsparingly. More especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that period of transition when the inevitable evils of a changing order were aggravated by the never-ending French war, the poor people began to resent the contrast between their poverty and the wealth of those others whose thoughtlessness sowed a sense of wrong. It was truly a period of frivolity and extravagance strange to the old simplicity, and it was in new and strange manners of dress that the new spirit was made patent to the people.

The Jeremiads which voice the lamentations of the people are not always very readable; the moralist is so often dull, and the writers hardly deserve the name of satirists. Some doggerel verses, less dull than the prose for a certain jingle in them, may bear quotation:—

“Ye prowde galontes hertlesse,
With your hyghe cappis witlesse,
And your schort gownys thriftlesse,
Have brought this londe in gret hevynesse.”

It was naturally the noble and gentle classes who were thus satirised in a time of—

“Many knyghtes, and lytyl of myght,
Many lawys, and lytylle ryght;

* * * *

Many gentyllemen, and few pages;
Wyde gownys, and large slevys”;

but the clerical class was not spared:

“Ye poepeholy prestis fulle of presoncion,
With your wyde furryd hodes voyd of discrecioun;
Unto your owyn prechyng of contrary condicioun,
Which causeth the peple to have lesse devocioun.”*

* *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History. From the accession of Edward III. to that of Richard III.* Ed. Thos. Wright. Vol. ii., p. 251. (*Rolls Series.*)

It is, however, the criticism levelled directly against religion and religious men which is most pertinent to our subject. More than ever Pope, or Cardinal, or priest, the monk was the common butt of the satirist of the Middle Age. Monasticism represented one of the most characteristic mediæval ideals. The history of the development of the Benedictine idea is familiar to all; the tale of how the Black Monk, relaxing with the centuries some of the old austerity, appeared to the reformers of successive ages a mere decadent, and how through successive reforms were evolved the orders of Cluny, Grammont, Citeaux, and Chartreuse. Another line of development of what was practically monasticism was that which gave rise to the various orders of canons regular with their somewhat analogous story; and later there came the active monasticism of the Friars.

Where there was room for the practical protest there was, of course, ample scope for the spoken rebuke. It seems as though the age could not forgive any tampering with this, one of its most cherished ideals. Looking to immediate causes we find that the great mass of monastic satire was written by seculars, a natural result of that jealousy between secular and regular which affected less noble spirits all through the Middle Ages, and which was not always a vague sentiment, but sometimes a very passion.

In the twelfth century the two friends Walter Map and Gerald Cambrensis, both practically Welshmen—for Walter Map sprang from the March land—set out to show, the one the frailties of courts and courtiers, the other the condition of the Church. Curiously enough, the *De nugis Curialium* and the *Speculum Ecclesie* both made monasteries and monks their main theme, and neither thus corresponds to the indication of its title. Walter Map does not try to hide a certain feeling of resentment which he, as a secular clerk, feels against the regulars, "*Crescunt enim semper et nos decrescimus*," and they have captured all the altars. He proceeds here as always by way of anecdote, and tells well the story of the origin of several Orders, nearly always adding that they have fallen off from the early ideal. The Cistercians are most severely handled, their spiritual pride

and evasions of their rule set forth, but malicious stories told amusingly form the main substance of his indictment. The Order is perhaps most effectively discredited by the picture of St. Bernard attempting to work miracles which do not succeed, as when at the funeral of a Carthusian monk he addressed the dead, saying, "Walter, come forth," "but Walter hearing not the voice of Jesus, and having not the ears of Lazarus, did not come." The very spirit of the grumbler is revealed when a description of the origin of the double Order of Sempringham nuns and canons is followed by the statement that hitherto no evil effects have followed from the experiment, but there is always danger, "Nihil adhuc inde sinistrum auditur, sed timor est." *

On the other hand Walter is lavish in praise of some monks. Tepidly enough he tells of Gregory, an aged monk of Gloucester, afflicted by age and infirmity, yet ever struggling on, joyful in the service of God, declaring, when after long labours, sleep overtook him, that these hours of repose had been stolen from the Lord. To his prayers Walter had recommended himself on one occasion when about to cross the seas. During the voyage, his vessel being nearly overwhelmed by a storm, he again prayed by the merits of Gregory, and behold, he saw Gregory himself going among the sailors, encouraging, advising, correcting and guiding them through the danger. Walter recounted this wonder to Hamelinus, Abbot of Gloucester, who told it to many, and among others to a certain nobleman, Gilbert de Lacy, afterwards a Templar, and to him it happened in like manner in the Grecian Seas.

The attitude of Giraldus Cambrensis is similar to that of Walter Map, with the same mixture of jealousy, admiration, blame, and malicious anecdote. †

No one could tell better of the rise of new Orders like the Cistercians, when men of the older Orders, disgusted with the prevalent laxity, flocked to the wilderness, exchanging the comparative ease of an established institution

* Gualteri Mape's *De Nugio Curialium*. Ed. by Thomas Wright. Printed for the Camden Society, MDCCCL.

† Giraldus Cambrensis: *Opera*, vol. iv.; *Speculum Ecclesiæ*, etc. Ed. by J. S. Brewer. (*Rolls Series*).

for the labours and privations of a mode in the making. Not only these, but distinguished masters with their pupils left the schools, and bishops their cathedrals, deserting the active for the contemplative life, "as wearied of the bleary-eyedness of Lia and delighting in Rachel's beauty." Pure were their lives as their robes were white, but with the lapse of time ambition and greed sullied them, and a "dolorous and lamentable thing it was that so great a column of the Church should not preserve its end and be true to its nature."

The writer is not very precise in his indictment, but we may presume that he means to blame only individual houses; for though the evil is deep-rooted, he sees hope of remedy in the prayers and works of the whole Order, in the almsgiving and hospitality which marked it pre-eminently. "It will be observed that the enormities charged by Giraldus on the Cistercians are chiefly derived from the Welsh borders, and cannot be accepted as a fair representation of the morality of the Order in general, still less of monasticism in England."*

The *Speculum Stultorum* of Nigel Wireker, monk of Canterbury, is for its comprehensiveness more truly a mirror of the Church, though again devoted in great part to the monks. In it are recounted the adventures of Brunellus, the ass, as he wanders over Europe. In view of his intention of joining a religious Order, a review of many of these is given, a peculiar combination of sane description and sly criticism. It is the sterner aspects which repel him. The primitive Benedictines are spared, for Nigel was himself a Black Monk; but the newer Orders of reform receive the criticism to which any lapse from the stricter life laid them open. The Cistercians, as ever, are at least duly chastised. As usual, their wealth and acquisitiveness are blamed, though the writer shows a certain sense of the real severity of their life; and when he qualifies the statement that the White Monks do not eat meat except with special leave from the Abbot, by adding that in these cases they eat bipeds to keep within the strict

* Brewer's Preface to vol. iv. of Giraldus Cambrensis: *Opera*.

letter of the rule, and that then they bury every bone and scrap lest outsiders shall know, he seems rather to be indulging a certain vein of broad playfulness than putting forth a serious statement.

In the same vein, describing the life of the White Canons of Premontre, he says they do not eat meat, but are allowed "pinguinia," which are akin thereto, and this lest "Caro" should feel itself aggrieved at being wholly excluded. This buffoonery occurs at the end of a sufficiently sympathetic account of the rule and life of the Norbertine Order. An equally good account is given of the Orders of Grammont and Chartreuse. The ass will not join the former, for indeed he fears the hardships of such a life of abnegation, "*vereor asperiora pati*," and naïvely he wonders how they live, and why, being men, not angels, they cannot be content to live like humans. His picture of Carthusian life is singularly attractive—its privacy and more than monastic solitude—for the monk lives his life in his cell, and prays, works, sings and eats there, visited only by his Abbot. The Carthusians seek not to extend their possessions, and mingle not with men, but the coming guest they receive with cheerful breast and voice and hand.

The ass does not state his personal objection to the Order, but it may be safely concluded that here again he fears the too hard pressure on flesh and spirit.

The Black Canons are shown not living under any rigorous rule, but they are not condemned, as are the secular canons, who live indeed for this world, "and do whatever the petulance of the flesh demands." In this connection the writer rises to an unwonted strain of moral indignation. It is these seculars who are undermining the state of the Church and of religion. Yet, he says, there are among the seculars good canons, in the world and not of it, walking unscathed in the midst of the flames, for fire cannot consume those whom the spirit inwardly refreshes; and as gold is proved in the crucible, so God tries them.

From such noble writing he turns to tell of women in the religious life, and gives an obviously one-sided

and inadequate account, a curious picture, cynically tolerant, of vice in the garb of virtue.*

A description, without praise or blame, of the Sempringham Order completes the tale, and still the ass has not found an asylum to his taste. A brilliant idea! he will himself found an Order, taking such points from the other Orders as shall seem best and most convenient.

The new Order should be called by the name of the founder thence to be immortalised. What are the several contributions of the several Orders? The Templars shall give their slow-trotting steeds, the Cluniacs their right to eat "pinguinia" on certain days, the order of Grammont its freedom from overmuch silence. Like the Carthusians, it would be sufficient for his brethren to hear Mass once a month; the Black Canons they should follow in their permission to eat meat, the Premonstratensians in the amplitude of their garments. Above all things he will adopt that institution which came from the oldest Order of all and had its beginnings in Paradise, namely, marriage, which God has instituted and blessed. From Sempringham he knows not what point to take, for "new things are wont to puzzle him;" but he reserves the right to modify at a later stage, and now nothing remains but to obtain the confirmation of the Sovereign Pontiff.

This is evidently pure burlesque, not a satire on anybody, unless it be Brunellus; and it is this playfulness, the dominant note in mediæval satire, which confounds a whole school of interpretation.

A similar *jeu d'esprit* is found in a French poem of the thirteenth century.†

* Women and the foibles of womankind were in the Middle Ages, as at all times, favourite subjects for satire. Closely connected with this subject is a great body of domestic satire. They do not enter into the scope of this article, only I may remark that Thomas Wright, who has made available so much of this class of writing, interprets such satire in the same spirit in which he reads the satire on religious subjects. Because men laughed at woman we are to believe that the women of that age were exceptionally frivolous; because the mediæval stone-worker was fond of portraying a woman administering corporal punishment to her husband, or similar themes, we are to believe that the tone of domestic life was exceptionally coarse; and because men criticised Church discipline or practice, the Middle Age was bitterly anti-clerical.

† *Bibliotheca Curiosa*, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 64. The poem is here termed a "bitter satire."

Perhaps Brunellus had after all obtained for his foundation the confirmation of the Sovereign Pontiff, for here is described a very similar institution, the "Order of Fair-Ease," which "takes a point from all the other Orders," and in it is "many a worthy fellow and many a good dame." Needless to say the points adopted are the relaxations and indulgences broadly interpreted. Like Sempringham, it is a double Order, but there is not any "ditch or wall of high measure" to prevent the brethren visiting the sisters. "A point they have taken from the Hospitallers, who are very courteous knights, and have very becoming robes, so long that they drag at their feet."

From the Order of Silence (Carthusians) they take the separate cell, not merely for seclusion however, but for ease and comfort. The Grey Monks pray always on their knees and sound a single bell.*

The Sisters of the Order of Fair-Ease shall not only kneel but lie flat when they pray, and the single bell shall be doubled.

New things which would have puzzled the ass here enter in, for a levy is made on the comparatively new Orders of Friars. "We must not forget, if our Order is to last, the Friars Minor; so must we have a point of their Order to be of more account. Their Order is founded in poverty, therefore they go the open way to heaven; and I will tell you exactly how they seek poverty always: when they travel through the country, they take up their lodgings with the chief baron or knight, or with the chief parson or priest, where they can have their fill; but by St. Peter of Rome, they will never lodge with a poor man. Nor must our brethren take lodging nor seek other place than where they know there is plenty, and there they ought in charity to eat flesh and whatever they find as the Friars Minor do."

The old jealousy between priest and monk was surpassed by that between the secular clergy and the thirteenth century mendicant Orders, which, taking up the active work of cure of souls, furnished a very definite ground of resent-

* Simplicity in Church services was an important point of ascetic discipline with the Cistercians.

ment. Everyone knows how the Dominicans and Franciscans loom large in Church history, from the thirteenth century onwards. A new and larger ideal, a life whose spirituality was grounded on temporal conditions, the inevitable weaker brethren—what scope for satire!—and there is plenty of it. The begging friar, working for the most part among the poor and ignorant, and subject to vicissitudes which some at least must have learned to dread and to avoid by questionable methods, was destined to become a prey to the facetious.

Exaggeration with some basis of fact, a tale at the same time amusing and plausible, what protest or denial shall resist it? The Somnour in Chaucer tells of a friar who went among the people with writing-tables on which he recorded the names of those who gave him charity, promising to pray for them; but the tables had the inconvenience of sometimes becoming full, and then he just cleaned them and began again, names and promises being thus consigned to oblivion.

This is the kind of tale which would, for its circumstance and deliberate deceit, amuse the vulgar while discrediting a class, and such tales spread unchecked, for there was not always at hand an indignant friar to give the lie:

“Nay there thou lixt, thou somnour, quod the frere.”

But to continue with the Order of Fair-Ease. “As we owe something to the Minors, we will borrow also of the Preachers; they do not go barefoot like the others, but they go preaching with shoes on, and if it happen any time that they have sore feet, they may, if they like, ride on horseback all day long. But quite in another manner ought our brethren to do when they preach through the land; for they must ride thus always both far and near. . . . Now ends our Order, which agrees with all good Orders, and it is the Order of Fair-Ease which pleases many too well.”

Enough has been quoted to show that the satire directed against monks did not arise from any reasoned condemnation of monasticism; nay, rather, that with this satire is mingled an amount of appreciation which, coming from

such sources, is a powerful testimony to the strength of the monastic ideal.

This statement applies to mediæval satire in general. The imagination may easily go astray in its cold valuation of the strivings of seven centuries ago, but the printed record does leave an impression of buffoonery rather than of bitterness. So often is this mistake made, of reading malice into the mere playfulness of the Middle Age; of hearing a note of discord in its loud laughter; of seeing the grimly moral in the frankly grotesque.

A case in point is that work so popular on the continent in those days, *Reynard, the Fox*. The popular and Protestant voice labels it as a satire on the Roman system; a strange phenomenon indeed, this early and so widespread protest in the age of faith. To us there is in it as much satire as is to be found in the easy morality of Uncle Remus. Modern Puritanism is certainly shocked at its light handling of sacred things; but other times, other manners: and yet again it is no uncommon instinct, a contriving of the sensitive, to relieve the solemn pressure of feeling by the light touch of humour.

When Copple, the daughter of Chanticleer, whom Reynard has done to death, is buried with all solemnity by vestmented beasts as priest and clerk, it is not necessarily in any spirit of discourtesy towards religious ceremonial. Similarly Reynard's confession to his nephew the brock and his subsequent relapse—for though he "often feels touches of repentance," "reason and our will are ever in continual combat"—casts no discredit on the sacramental system. That the fox should sometimes gain his ends by donning a monk's cowl does not appear a very serious reflection on monasticism.

The personification of animals was an old device of the moralist, and the beast masquerading as man, always irresistibly comic, appealed especially to the grotesque element so strong in the mediæval imagination. Not only in literature, but in the art of the age did this instinct find play. Every cathedral and church had a permanent indwelling population in wood or stone, imp, beast and monster, some lurking in arch or spandrel, or boldly

leering at the portal, while others were perched in the very choir, and in their own way they too were a testimony of praise. Animals often figured in those carved series found on the façades of mediæval churches, series representing by pregnant type or incident the character of the virtues and vices. Often, too, they figured where there was not any such moral intention. A fox in pulpit and priestly garb carved upon a choir stall, a bear preaching amid the foliage of a capital, with a hare holding a staff and a little dog perched upon a leaf listening—what could this be but burlesque?

The critic who detects its satire must wonder indeed how such things could be, and how it came about that priests in a priest-ridden age paid men to mock them in their own material. Mr. Wright, in his *History of Caricature and Grotesque*, describes as an example of such representation a window, now destroyed, in St. Martin's Church, Leicester, in which a fox was shown preaching to a congregation of geese, with the words: "Testis est mihi Deus quam cupiam vos omnes visceribus meis." Who shall call this satire? Examples are innumerable of monk or clerk used to illustrate some vice or failing, especially such sins as greed and good living, which the lay mind in all ages is wont to ascribe to churchmen. The very frequency of such representation is an evidence of the harmlessness of intention and tolerance in interpretation. "Monks carved ridiculous images of monks in ridiculous attitudes, and men who had no intention of really maligning them gave currency to questionable anecdotes and rather coarse stories, which neither they nor their hearers literally believed, or intended others should believe." *

It was in the same spirit that witty clerks, "goliads," as they were sometimes called, wrote parodies of sermons, of the Gospels or even of the Mass. A translation of one such parody of the Gospel of St. Mark, Mr. Wright gives us as being "less profane than the others, and at the same time picturing the mediæval hatred towards the Church of Rome."

* Brewer's preface to vol. iv. of G. Cambrensis' *Opera*.

"The beginning of the holy gospel according to Marks of silver. At that time the Pope said to the Romans: 'When the Son of Man shall come to the seat of our Majesty, first say, Friend, for what hast thou come? But if he should persevere in knocking without giving you anything, cast him out into utter darkness.' And it came to pass that a certain poor clerk came to the court of the lord, the Pope, and cried out, saying, 'Have pity on me. at least, you door-keepers of the Pope, for the hand of poverty has touched me. For I am needy and poor, and therefore I seek your assistance in my calamity and misery.' But they hearing this were highly indignant and said to him: 'Friend, thy poverty be with thee in perdition; get thee backward, Satan, for thou dost not savour of those things which have the savour of money. Verily, verily, I say unto thee, thou shall not enter into the joy of thy lord until thou shalt have given thy last farthing.' Then the poor man went away and sold his cloak, and his gown, and all that he had, and gave it to the Cardinals, and to the door-keepers, and to the chamberlains. But they said, 'And what is this among so many?'" etc.

This irresistible *tour de force* does not convey to us an impression of hatred; its cleverness is its most striking feature, and the man who wrote it may or may not have been serious in his choice of a vehicle for his wit. That there was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a considerable amount of discontent at the expense and delay incurred by the methods of papal jurisdiction no one can deny, but the facetious scholar who could write such lines would hardly, perhaps, feel seriously on the subject, but would inevitably discern in the tendency of opinion the scope for satire. In a similar strain we are told that "the Bishop loves a cheerful giver."

Of the mass of satire directed against vice as such, exhibited generally in personifications rather than persons, there is no need to speak at length. Such censure is directed in no wise against the teaching and discipline of the Church, but rather against the neglect thereof. So Sloth in "Piers the Plowman" is shown as being obliged to sit to be shriven else he would fall asleep. He does not know the *Pater Noster*, and forgets to say the penance enjoined by the priest. He never says his Rosary, and is occupied every day with idle tales:

"Goddess payne and his passioun ful selde thynke I thereon,
I visited never feeble men."

A class of writing which, directed against an excess of formalism in religion at the expense of true spirituality, may be called by anticipation the satire of Puritanism, has given perhaps most colour to adverse interpretation. Logically minded and profane men have always difficulty in reconciling the inconsistencies between the theory and practice of religious people, and religious men of a similar type of mind view with the same irritation their brethren who combine assiduous cult of forms with neglect of the spirit of true religion. Long pilgrimages, longer prayers, all sorts of external worship, do not seem to them worth the true inward chastening of the spirit. Regard for forms argues, one would think, some participation in the spirit, but it is a question of proportion; and every sect in every age has its liturgicals and its puritans, potential if not actual, for these are perennial types. So Langland, whose plea is for spiritual religion, would not deny the efficacy of indulgences or the plenary power of the Pope, but he wished men would rely more on "Dowel;" and instead of exercising the body in pious pilgrimage, would occupy the mind in inner searching:

"And ye that seke Seynte James and seintes of Rome
Seketh Seynt treuthe, for he may save you alle."

The outspokenness of mediæval satire is paralleled by that which marked the early and orthodox movement for reform within the Church in the sixteenth century. Men like Erasmus and More were brilliantly and playfully satirical, as openly so as any mediæval; but when revolt sounded, their essential loyalty was made manifest—the loyalty by virtue of which they had dared to criticise what they loved. No such trial-time had faced the mediæval satirist, but he was for the most part an equally devoted child of the Church, and it is his loyalty which gives the keynote to the outspokenness of satire in the Middle Ages.

ELIZABETH SPEAKMAN.

ART. V.—IRELAND AFTER THE RESTORATION.

THOSE in England who fought against the tyranny of Charles I., and expected that despotic government was over when his destruction was accomplished, were soon grievously disappointed.* The oligarchy, which, under the name of a Council of State, succeeded the murdered monarch, had but crude notions of popular government. From the first the Council was dominated by Cromwell; after his victories in Ireland and Scotland, his influence became overwhelming and irresistible; and when he became Lord Protector he was invested with more extensive powers than any of the Stuart kings had ever enjoyed. Under his rule men were thrown into prison and kept there without sufficient cause, illegal tribunals were set up, juries were packed, taxes raised without the consent of Parliament, and Parliament itself more than once violently dissolved. Everything depended on the will of one man, and neither civil nor religious liberty could be said to exist.† Discontent was universal; even the army, which supported all his measures and which he was always careful to flatter, at length became restive; the republican spirit of some of its members revolted at the Protector's despotism; and when he died it soon became evident that such despotic government as his would not long be endured. Oliver himself, had he lived, might have

* "Enemies are swept away," said Carlyle, "extinguished as in the brightness of the Lord, and no Divine Kingdom and no incipency of such has yet in any measure come. These are sorrowful reflections." *Cromwell's Letters*, vol. ii., p 37.

† Lingard, vol. viii., p 270.

protracted the fall of the Protectorate and overawed the various malcontents ; but his son was weak : if he wielded the bow of Ulysses he was plainly unable to bend it ; and after a brief period of intrigue and faction and anarchy, the exiled Charles II., by the voice of the whole nation, was called to his father's throne.

The Cromwellian settlers in Ireland carefully watched these changing scenes. Both Lord Broghill and Sir Charles Coote had given material aid to Cromwell and more than any others had helped to crush the Irish royalists. They had been richly rewarded. Broghill was Lord President of Munster and Coote Lord President of Connaught, and both had got enormous quantities of confiscated lands. It was personal interest rather than conviction that animated them—they were ready to be royalists or republicans according as it paid, and hastened to desert the Protectorate as soon as it became evident that its days were numbered. Their intentions were early divined and both were dismissed from the offices they held ; and the same punishment was meted out to two hundred military officers who were supposed to share their views. This treatment rather strengthened than weakened the party of Broghill and Coote. They were soon strong enough to form a conspiracy to overthrow the Government at Dublin ; and in the last days of 1659 they carried out their plans and seized upon the Castle of Dublin. It was soon recaptured by Sir Hardress Waller, who, with Ludlow and some others, would be no party to the overthrow of a republican government ; but he in turn was besieged in the Castle, and after five days was compelled to surrender. Limerick, Galway, Clonmel, Youghal, Ross and the other garrison towns followed the lead of Dublin ; and a Council of Officers was formed and took over the government. A Convention of Estates was then summoned and met in Dublin in February. Its members only waited for the signal from England to recall the King. Already Coote had sent his agent to Brussels to assure Ormond of his support. Broghill had acted similarly ; an army of sixty companies of foot and forty-two troops of horse was raised for the King's service ; in May the King was proclaimed with

great acclamation in Dublin ; and the Convention voted him a gift of £20,000, giving at the same time £4,000 to the Duke of York and £2,000 to the Duke of Gloucester. Lord Broghill and Coote and some others were appointed by the Convention as commissioners to make known the nation's desires to the King ; and the Convention, having done so much, adjourned till the following November.*

The object of Broghill and Coote was clear. They wanted to stand well with the King, to prejudice him in their favour, to get security for themselves and the other Cromwellian settlers in their estates. In his Declaration from Breda, issued before starting for England, Charles had announced that he would leave the settlement of estates to the English Parliament ; † and it was important that that body should be favourably disposed, as indeed it already was, towards the Protestant settlers in Ireland. It was considered important also that a prejudice should be created against the dispossessed Catholics. Some of them, though found by Cromwell's courts quite innocent of any share in the rebellion, were yet driven from their estates into Connaught or Clare. Believing that the hour of retribution had struck when the King was restored, they proceeded in some cases to eject the settlers and re-entered into possession of their former estates. Riots and bloodshed followed, and the Convention in Dublin put the severest laws and ordinances in force against the whole Catholic body, threw some into prison, prohibited all from passing from one province to another even on their ordinary business, intercepted their letters, forbade them to hold meetings, and thus made it impossible for them to appoint agents who might look after their interests. And the agents of the Convention meanwhile persuaded the English Parliament to represent to the King that the Irish Catholics had broken out into acts of force and violence ; had robbed and spoiled and murdered some of the Protestant planters and forcibly driven them from their estates. In consequence, a royal proclamation was issued commanding that the

* Carte's *Ormond*, vol. ii., pp. 203-4 ; Mahaffy's *Calendar of State Papers* (1625-60), pp. 696-7, 711-14, 719-20.

† Lingard, viii., pp. 302-4.

settlers should be left in quiet possession of the houses and lands they possessed in the beginning of the year 1660, and were not to be disturbed by "Irish rebels" until legally evicted by course of law or until "his Majesty had by the advice of Parliament taken further order therein."*

The Episcopal Protestant Church was then established both in England and Ireland, Bramhall became Primate, and the famous Jeremy Taylor Bishop of Down,† the arrangement by which Cromwell had united the Irish and English Parliaments, and fixed the number of Irish members at thirty, was disowned and abolished, and a new Irish Parliament was to be summoned. Sir Charles Coote was made Earl of Mountrath and Broghill Earl of Orrery, and Ormond, raised to the dignity of Duke, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.‡

But before the new Viceroy took up office three Lords Justices were appointed to take charge of the Irish Government—Lords Orrery and Mountrath and Sir Maurice Eustace—and the great question of the settlement of Ireland was taken in hand. It was a perplexing problem, full of dangers and difficulties, and especially disagreeable to a King such as Charles, who hated trouble and loved ease and pleasure, and who must have felt that it was impossible to reconcile all the conflicting interests, and that after all his efforts were exhausted there would remain dissatisfaction and discontent. The Adventurers held their lands by virtue of an Act of Parliament approved by his father and which therefore he must have felt binding on himself. The soldiers, it was true, had fought both his father and himself, and it may be assumed he did not love them, but they were a formidable body, with powerful friends in England; they still remembered the victories they had won, and could again draw the sword in defence of those fields which had been given them as the reward of their valour. Such a body of men was dangerous to provoke. It was easier for Charles to remember that these soldiers had welcomed him home and had even organized themselves to fight his battles,

* Carte, vol. ii., pp. 205-6.

† Mant's *History of the Church of Ireland*, vol. ii., pp. 605-8.

‡ Carte, vol., ii, pp. 209-17, 238.

if such a necessity should arise. There were, besides, the officers and soldiers who had fought on the royalist side previous to 1649, called the "'49 men," and whose arrears of pay had never been discharged. There were Protestants who had never joined in the rebellion at all and yet had been driven from their lands. There were innocent Catholics whose only crime was their religion. There were Catholics who had been in rebellion but had repented and accepted the peace of 1648. And there were some, like Ormond, whose services and sacrifices could not be forgotten.

Another class were the Ensignmen. They were Irish Catholics who had fought with the King abroad, and who, as his subjects and obeying his commands, gave him consequence in the eyes of France and Spain, which otherwise he had not possessed. At Arras, in 1654, two Irish regiments aided the great Turenne to defeat Conde; and on that desperate day near Dunkirk (in 1658), when the Spaniards were routed by the charge of the English Puritans, there were 2000 Irish on the Spanish side under the Duke of York, Lord Muskerry and Colonel Grace.* After the capture of Bois-le-Duc, which they gallantly defended for the Duke of Lorraine, an Irish regiment, at the command of the Duke of York, took service in the army of France; and at the siege of Ligny, which soon followed, more than one hundred of them lost their lives.† When the Duke of York quitted the French for the Spanish service the Irish soldiers in France followed his example; and on one occasion, at the solicitation of Ormond and Charles II., but to the disgrace of the Irish themselves, St. Germain, which they held for France and were bound in honour to defend, they treacherously surrendered to Spain.‡ Charles II., after his restoration, declared that he remembered their loyalty with affection, and that joyfully they had obeyed his orders though to do so was often injurious to themselves, and that such conduct entitled them to his protection and favour.§

As a solution of the difficulties before the King, the Earl of

* O'Connor's *Military History of the Irish Nation*, pp. 82-5.

† *Ibid.* pp. 69-71. ‡ *Ibid.* 75-8. § *Ibid.* 86.

Orrery proposed that the Adventurers and soldiers be allowed what lands they possessed on May 7, 1659; that Ormond and three or four others of special merit should be fully restored to all their lands and to some extent compensated for the losses they had sustained; and that the "'49 men" should get some yet unallotted lands in eight counties, together with the houses in the great towns. Mounrath would exempt those fanatics and disaffected persons who had opposed the Restoration; and Sir Maurice Eustace would have the King reserve all Connaught for himself to which neither Adventurer nor soldier could pretend anything. The two former proposals completely ignored the Catholics. But the Catholics were allowed to send agents to London, and these demanded that the Irish should be first restored to their estates, and that those of them who had not left Ireland should, for the space of five years, give one-third of the product of their estates to compensate deserving and dispossessed settlers; those who had served abroad with the King should pay a like amount for two years. These and other proposals were debated and discussed by the King and his Council, and finally, in the last days of 1660, his Majesty issued his Declaration for the Settlement of Ireland. Adventurers were confirmed in what they had on May 7, 1659; soldiers were similarly confirmed unless they held church lands, in which case these lands were to be given up and the soldiers compensated or reprimed by the grant of other lands. The "'49 men" and Protestants who had never rebelled should at once have their claims allowed. And as to the Catholics, if they had never been in rebellion they were to be restored to their estates, but if their property was within corporate towns they were not to be restored but get lands in the neighbourhood. Those who had been in rebellion but accepted and adhered to the peace of 1648 were to be restored, unless they had sued out lands in Connaught or Clare, and if they had they should be satisfied with what they had got; the Ensignmen were also to be restored, but not till the dispossessed settlers were first reprimed. Thirty-six of the nobility and gentry were—as nominees—to be restored to their estates at once

by special favour of the King. Those, on the contrary, who had any share in the robberies or murders committed in the early years of the rebellion were excluded from the King's Declaration ; and so also were the regicides—those who condemned the late King or assisted at his execution ; and those also who opposed the restoration of the present King.*

In carrying out this Declaration a certain fixed order was established. Innocents, whether Protestant or Catholic, who had not obtained lands in Connaught, were first to be restored ; after these persons dispossessed to make way for such Innocents ; and lastly, the claims of the Ensignmen were to be satisfied. Thirty-six commissioners were appointed to examine individual claims, and a Court of Claims was opened in Dublin in March, 1661. But every member of the court was himself in possession of forfeited lands, and before such a tribunal the dispossessed Catholics had little hope of justice. As well bring a lamb before a jury of wolves. The commissioners besides had no legal training. They sat when it suited them ; and though the streets were filled with people of both sexes clamouring to be heard they did nothing ; and months after the court was opened only one widow was restored. The conduct of the commissioners must have been indeed reprehensible, when the King declared that their partiality and corruption had discredited his Declaration, and when, in consequence, their commission had to be cancelled and their court closed (April, 1662), just a year after it had first opened its doors.†

The venue was again changed to London, before the King and his Council, and the work of debate and discussion was resumed. But the contest was an unequal one ; the odds were too great against the Catholics, and it was easy to see on which side the victory would be. The Irish Parliament which commenced its sittings in the preceding year was elected by the Adventurers and soldiers, who were still in possession of their lands and who had exclusive possession of the towns, and therefore

* Carte, vol. ii., pp. 216-17 ; Mountmorris, *History of the Principal Transactions of the Irish Parliament from 1634 to 1666*, vol. ii., pp. 90.

† Prendergast's *Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, pp. 16 17.

had all the voting power. Nor was there but one Catholic in the House of Commons. The members were Planters themselves, and to watch over the Planters' interests was to watch over their own. Nor were they neglectful. They appointed agents to proceed to London, amongst whom were such able men as Sir William Petty and Sir William Temple.* They spent more than £20,000 in bribing influential persons in England. They had friends on the Council where the Catholics had none; Clarendon was in their favour; so was Ormond, whom they attached to their interest still more by presenting him with an address of congratulation and by voting him a sum of £30,000.† They insisted that the Catholics were rebels and traitors; that they were plotting a new rebellion; and, affecting to believe this but really to make an impression in London, they had priests arrested, mechanics banished from the towns, and the houses of the gentry searched for arms. The Irish Parliament and their agents flattered the King; and they who had put his father to death and driven himself beyond the sea, thanked God that by their aid he had been victorious over Popish rebels; and declared that it was necessity only and zeal for the King's service that compelled them to confiscate these rebels' lands.‡ They reminded the King that it was they who first invited him home, yet with great wisdom they insisted on nothing, acknowledged that the King could do what he liked with them, and appealed rather to his mercy than to his justice. The Catholics, on the other hand, managed their case badly. They insisted that their services to the King should be remembered; told him he was bound in honour to abide by the peace of 1648 which provided for their restoration; and they called the Cromwellians rebels and traitors. These latter retorted that the Catholics were covered with the blood of those murdered in 1641; and they reminded the King that the chief agent of the Catholics in London was Sir N. Plunket, who, in 1648, was sent by the Supreme Council of Kilkenny to Rome to offer Ireland to the Pope, or, failing him, to any other

* Mountmorris, vol. ii., p. 103.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 118.

‡ *Preamble to Act of Parl.*, 14-15 Charles the 2nd.

Catholic sovereign. Plunket could not deny the charge, which after all ought to have been condoned by the peace of 1648. But Charles was angry, or pretended to be, and ordered that Plunket should no longer be admitted to plead before the Council. His Majesty was one of those who wanted to proceed along the line of least resistance. He thought at first that there would be sufficient lands for all. Ormond knew better, and declared that if all included in the King's Declaration were to be satisfied, a new Ireland should be discovered. As time passed the King found that Ormond's view was correct; all could not be satisfied; after all, he thought the settlement of Ireland was rather a matter of policy than of justice; some should suffer; and it was the wish of the English Parliament and Council, and therefore more in accordance with his own interest, that the loss should fall on the Catholics.* All further discussion was ended. Those who had fought against the King were to be left the estates of those who had fought by his side and shared the hardships and perils of his exile. The Bill of Settlement was drawn up and transmitted to the Irish Parliament, which speedily passed it into law; and five commissioners were appointed to carry out its provisions and set up a new Court of Claims in Dublin, before which those who claimed to be innocent were to appear.

Under this act the position of the Catholics was even worse than it had been under the King's Declaration; and the debates in London and the advocacy of Plunket had done harm instead of good. Those who had abided by the peace of 1648, the Article men as they were called, were finally disowned; and whoever took lands in Connaught could look for nothing more. If he had not gone to Connaught the Cromwellians would have hung him; if he went there and did not get lands he would have starved; and now he was deemed guilty for having taken the lands, or at least treated as if he were.† It was evidently the intention of the act to favour the Protestants and make it difficult for a Catholic to get a favourable verdict, and,

* Carte, vol. ii., pp. 239-46; Lingard, vol. ix., pp. 29-31.

† Prendergast, p. 24.

therefore, the bars to innocence in his case were many. Whoever joined the rebellion before the cessation of 1643, whoever throughout the whole rebellion had his residence in the rebels' quarters, whoever joined the confederacy before the peace of 1648, or sat in the Confederate Assembly, or in the Supreme Council, or derived powers from either body, or belonged to the Nuncio's party, or inherited property from those guilty of such crimes—all these were declared guilty.* And this law was to be administered by five commissioners, English and Protestant, filled as they must have been with the prejudices against the Catholics, which, by the English Protestants of that day, were everywhere entertained.† It seemed no more difficult for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a Catholic to pass through this court and emerge from it with the stamp of innocence. And yet, with few exceptions, those Catholics who did come before the Court of Claims obtained the verdict which they sought. At the first sessions, out of 45 cases tried, 38 were declared innocent; at the second, 53 innocent and 7 not innocent; and throughout the whole period during which the court sat this proportion was maintained.‡ It may have been that some were found innocent who in reality were guilty. Clarendon says that there were such forgeries and perjuries as were never heard of among Christians; but he adds that the English perjured themselves as often and as deeply as did the Irish; and Sir William Petty declared that of those decreed innocent not one in twenty was really so. But his own hands were not too clean. He had got vast tracts of land by very questionable means, and while condemning the Irish for their swearing he was not ashamed to avow that he had witnesses himself who were prepared to swear through a three-inch board.§

When Ormond came to Ireland in the summer of 1662, he found discontent everywhere, and the discontent was

* Lecky's *History of Ireland*, vol. i., pp. 109-10; Carte, vol. ii., pp. 220-1.

† Carte, ii., p. 261.

‡ Leland's *History of Ireland*, iii., p. 430. Cox, p. 6, *Reign of Charles II*

§ Lecky, p. 114. Carte, vol. ii., p. 393.

increased by the passage into law and administration of the Act of Settlement. The Catholics complained of the harsh treatment they had received in not having their agent get a hearing in London and in not having any representation among the five commissioners. The forty-nine men had not yet got their claims satisfied out of the lands for reprisals, and these lands, already small enough, were still further reduced by enormous grants made by the King to the Dukes of York and Ormond and Albermarle, and other noblemen.* The Presbyterians, who hated Episcopacy, murmured at the establishment of an Episcopal Church.† The sectaries in the army would have preferred a republican to a monarchical form of government, and were ready to revolt. But most of all the Planters complained of the conduct of the Court of Claims. Where, they asked, was the land to rephrase the dispossessed Planters? and if the court continued to declare Papists innocent in the same proportion as they had already, the whole of the Planters would be sent adrift and the Cromwellian Settlement would be undone.‡

The Irish Parliament wanted stricter rules to be put in force in the Court of Claims: they wanted every idle tale, every lying story which bigotry or malice or self-interest could invent against the Catholics to be accepted as evidence. They spoke of defending their lands with their swords; and they ended by accusing the five commissioners of high treason.§ Ormond rebuked their heated language, and the King was angry, but it was in vain. The Parliament indeed moderated its rage, but the army was not so easily appeased, and a formidable conspiracy was organised (1663), extending through Munster, Ulster and Leinster. Timely information, however, was given to Ormond, the leaders in Ulster fled to Scotland, and those in Munster and Leinster who were preparing to seize the castle of Dublin were themselves taken and put to death.|| It was necessary to have the vexed question of the land settled. Ormond went to London and brought the matter before the English Council, and after much debate

* Lingard, vol. ix., p. 30.

† Carte, p. 260.

‡ Carte, p. 262.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 264, 312.

|| *Ibid.*, pp. 267-70.

an agreement was arrived at, and a new act, the Act of Explanation, was prepared and passed in the Irish Parliament (1665). To augment the fund for reprisals the Planters were to surrender one-third of the lands they held in May, 1659, the purchasers of land in Connaught one-third of what they held in 1663, and from this fund the claims of the forty-nine men and the innocent Catholics were to be met ; and in addition twenty more Catholic nominees were to be added to the thirty-six already named, and were to get their mansions and 2000 acres of land.* But the Court of Claims as constituted under the Act of Settlement was closed in the following August. It had commenced its sittings in January, 1663, and was closed in the following August. It had declared 600 Catholics innocent, but there were more than 3000 still unheard, and these, by the Act of Explanation, were even refused a hearing. They were condemned, says Leland, without the justice granted to the vilest criminals, that of a fair and equal trial.† The court which was opened under the Act of Explanation in January, 1666, was also composed of five commissioners, and did not finish its work for years, but it was a court for English and Protestants, and the act declared that if a question arose between a Catholic and a Protestant it was to the latter that favour was to be shown.‡

The fate of those Catholics whose cases remained untried was especially cruel. Many of them were noblemen, many of old descent and of English blood who but ten years before had possessed broad acres and a lordly castle, with the distinction and influence that came from wealth and ancient lineage. When the Court of Claims opened its doors they flocked to Dublin claiming to be heard. Some of them had spent six years in a cabin in Connaught. Some had been in exile, like their King, and lived in the garrets and cellars of continental cities ; and here and there in the throng might be seen one who had earned distinction on foreign fields. His patched buff coat denoted his poverty, but his jack boots and military deportment indicated the soldier ; at his side was a Bilbao blade and

* Carte, pp. 303-4.

† Leland, p. 440.

‡ Prendergast, pp. 34-5 ; Carte, pp. 303-4

from his lips came the language of Castile.* Ladies waited and watched and prayed to be heard; their families in the country were in poverty and starvation, they themselves in the city were soon reduced to a similar condition; mothers wept over their little ones; widows and orphans, poor, forlorn, desolate and dejected, waited patiently for their turn. As the days passed their spirits drooped, their hopes faded, and finally hope gave way to despair.† The Cromwellians only laughed at their sufferings, and in some cases a Planter refused to allow back one with a certificate of innocence. In other cases the personal intervention of the King himself was unavailing.‡ Ormond said that the time for hearing these cases must be extended, no matter who complained, and Orrery piously exclaimed, God forbid that any should fail to get a hearing. But neither Ormond nor Orrery were sincere; and both were directly concerned in promoting and passing the Act of Explanation which shut the doors of the Court of Claims against those who wished to be heard.

Of the Ensignmen some went to Ireland and were heard, others feared going there lest they might on some pretext be deprived of their arms and thrown into prison. They besieged the doors of the Council Chamber at Whitehall, hoping that their services would be remembered, and that they would be restored to their old homes. Some ran into debt for food and clothes, some were thrown into prison for debt, others were starving and pawned their arms and their clothes. But when the Act of Explanation was passed, further waiting and hoping was useless, and not one of them ever got as much land in Ireland as would serve them for a grave.§ The more ambitious and adventurous went back to the continent and again took service in foreign armies. Of the others many must have died in London of want and hunger and disease, bowed down and finally crushed with that hope deferred which makes the heart grow sick. A remnant went to Ireland and swelled the number of the disappointed; and, begging their bread from door to door, so ended their days.||

* Prendergast, p. 17.

† *Ibid*, pp. 34-6.

‡ *Ibid*, pp. 26, 35, 48.

§ *Ibid*, p. 37.

|| *Ibid*, p. 42, 50.

Typical of many others must have been the case of Lord Castleconnel, who appealed to the Duke of Ormond for relief, and candidly told him he could not appear before him for want of clothes; and Lady Dunboyne was glad to get from the Duchess of Ormond, and purely as charity, a small farm on the slopes of Slievenamon. Before the rebellion of 1641 the Catholics, at the lowest estimate, possessed more than two-thirds of the good land of Ireland; after the Act of Explanation the figures were reversed, and the Protestants had at least two thirds, while the estimate is put so high as four-fifths—a sweeping confiscation of property, especially when it is remembered that those whose lands were taken from them were denied even the justice of a trial.*

In settling his native land with English Protestants Ormond was kept busy during these years, but in other directions also his energy was shown. In his first year of office he abolished the Court of Wards, and to make up for the revenue thereby lost he had a tax imposed on hearths and chimneys.† He put down another Puritan revolt and captured Carrickfergus, and he executed some of the malcontents: and, dreading a French invasion, he put the army on a war footing and strengthened the sea ports in Munster.‡ He encouraged and materially aided the linen manufactures. He opposed the English Parliament when, in the interests of English agriculture, they prohibited the importation of Irish cattle into England. He convinced the King that it was an injustice to Ireland, but the King was powerless, and the first act was followed by another (1665), prohibiting the importation of cattle, sheep and pigs, either alive or dead.§ Left to himself, he would have troubled little with the Ulster Presbyterians, but the Irish Parliament or the Bishops were not disposed to be tolerant. Jeremy Taylor, the Bishop of Down, was especially severe: and a law was passed in 1665 which required the revised English liturgy to be used, and insisted that every minister not ordained according to the form of Episcopal ordination

* Lecky, p. 115; King's *State of the Protestants*, p. 182.

† Carte, p. 250.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 326-329.

§ Carte, pp. 317-322, 343; Hely Hutchinson's *Commercial Restraints*, p. 55

was incapable of holding any ecclesiastical benefice, and every Nonconformist minister who celebrated the Lord's Supper was liable to a fine of £100. Wherever they had power the Presbyterians were not tolerant of any other religion, but at least they were sincere in the profession of their own religion, and clung to it; and, in consequence, they suffered much throughout Ulster. Preaching was stopped, conventicles were closed, and ministers were fined and imprisoned.*

The Catholics suffered less; and, in hope of greater favour being shown them, an old friend of Ormond, Father Peter Walsh, who had formerly opposed the Nuncio, now proposed that a declaration of loyalty be drawn up by the Irish Catholics. It was called the Remonstrance, and those who signed it, in protesting their loyalty to the King, renounced all foreign power, Papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, that would pretend to free them from their obligation of loyalty or that would licence them to bear arms against his Majesty. Walsh drew a clear distinction between the King's temporal and spiritual power, and vehemently denied that to subscribe to the Remonstrance was the same as to take the Oath of Supremacy; and he hoped that if the clergy could be brought together to hear his explanations they would be induced to adopt his views. With the permission of Ormond such a meeting was held at Dublin, in 1666, but the opposition to the Remonstrance was overwhelming. Long before this the Internuncio wrote against it; the Augustinians and Jesuits were against it to a man; the Louvain faculty had declared that it contained things "repugnant to the sincere profession of the Catholic religion;" and in a country where there were several bishops and 1850 priests, Walsh could get only one bishop and 68 priests to agree with him. The assembly at Dublin was dissolved after a short time, but not until much wrangling was indulged in and much heat and passion had been shown.† This was just what Ormond wanted, for it was not for the good of the Catholics

* Latimer's *History of the Irish Presbyterians*, pp. 140-3.

† Walsh *History of the Remonstrance*, pp. 7, 9, 15-17, 24-5, 220-1, 637-742; Carte, p. 511; Leland, p. 460.

he allowed them to meet. It was, as he candidly confessed, to work divisions among them, to the great security of the Protestants and the government, and to lessen the power of the Pope and his Nuncios.*

But while he was thus plotting the ruin of the Catholics others were plotting his own. The Duke of Buckingham was in high favour with the King and was Ormond's bitterest enemy, and he made many charges against him in the English Parliament. It is not likely that the King believed these charges; but his Majesty was disposed to be more tolerant to the Catholics; and with Ormond in Ireland this could not be done. Partly, perhaps, on this account, partly also, it may be, through the arguments and entreaties of Buckingham, the Duke was summoned to London and was soon after dismissed from office.†

Lord Roberts was appointed his successor, but his term of office was short and uneventful, and in the following year (1670) Lord Berkley was appointed. His instructions were to promote the interests of the Established Church and reform abuses within its pale; to support Walsh and the Remonstrants; and to execute the laws against the Catholic hierarchy who had lately exercised jurisdiction.‡ It may be that these instructions were not meant to be acted on, or that Berkley received another and different set of secret instructions. Nor is this unlikely. The King's brother, the Duke of York, was a Catholic, and had enormous influence at Court; the King himself was in secret league with the Catholic King of France and was secretly inclined towards Catholicism; and the Duke of York's greatest friend was Colonel Talbot, a Catholic himself, a member of an old Irish Catholic family and brother of the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. Lord Berkley was an old friend of the Duke of York and had served with him abroad;§ and as he owed his Irish appointment to him, he was not likely to run counter to his views. Nor did he. Instead of prosecuting the Catholics,

* Carte, Appendix, Letter to the Earl of Arran.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 375-6.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 413; Cox, pp. 9-11, *Copy of Instructions*.

§ *Memoirs of James the Second*.

he allowed them to inhabit and trade in towns; he endeavoured to introduce some of them into the Dublin Corporation: he appointed others to the Commission of the Peace; and he allowed the Catholic Bishops to perform their duties openly. In the eyes of English Protestants and Irish Planters all this was bad, but, worse still, it was seeking to tamper with the Act of Settlement. This was owing to Colonel Talbot, who induced the English Council to appoint a commission to revise the whole settlement that had been made. The Duke of Ormond was highly incensed at this turn of affairs. When he gave up office he said there were only two Catholic Bishops in Ireland, and these were bedridden, but now every province had its Catholic Bishop, the loyal were oppressed and the disloyal were in power.* The settlement of Ireland he viewed with complacency; it was a good work and it was largely his own, and in the English Council and elsewhere he protested against its being endangered or attacked. The discontent and unrest among the Planters in Ireland gave point and force to his arguments. This discontent soon found expression in the English Parliament; and the House of Commons demanded of the King in menacing tones (1673) that no Catholic should be admitted to the army nor to the Bench, nor be allowed to inhabit in towns, still less be members of a corporation or mayors; that all Catholic schools and colleges and convents be suppressed; that all bishops, especially the Archbishop of Dublin, be compelled to quit the kingdom, and that his brother be dismissed from all office, civil or military, and forbidden access to the Court.† Powerless to oppose, the King felt compelled to yield. The Catholics put on the Dublin Corporation were disallowed; there were to be no more Catholic magistrates, and no more favour shown to bishops; the settlement of Ireland was to stand; the commission to review it was withdrawn; Protestant ascendancy was to be maintained; and visions of eviction and poverty no longer disturbed the Planters' dreams.

Lord Berkley had been recalled in the previous year.

* Carte, pp. 418.

† *Ibid*, 438-9.

His successor was the Earl of Essex, a strong Protestant, but no persecutor of the Catholics. His position was difficult and his troubles and trials were many. Authorised by the King to allow Catholics to live in corporate towns and to dispense them from the Oath of Supremacy, he proceeded to carry out these orders, but was met with such clamour and opposition that he was compelled to desist, and to refuse dispensing some members of the Dublin Corporation. Dr. Loftus, a master in Chancery, declared that he could not dispense without an Act of Parliament; Lord Orrery publicly protested against the indulgence shown to the Catholics; and the Mayor of Galway refused to allow them to vote for members of the Corporation, saying it was the duty of all to join against them as the common enemy. As additional worry for Essex there was counterfeit coin in circulation; there was great trouble with the revenue; and a Puritan officer, Walcot, endeavoured to stir up a revolt against "Popery and Prelacy." Heavy domestic affliction increased the Viceroy's trials. His wife was sick with fever (Oct. 1672), his daughter died in the following February, and his own health was so bad that, more than once, his life was in danger. A country torn by faction, in which the din of party warfare never ceased, was hard to govern. It was difficult to steer the ship of State over such an angry sea, and after nearly five years of worry and trouble and perplexing difficulties he was glad to surrender the helm.*

To the disgust of many, to the surprise of all, Ormond was again appointed Lord Lieutenant, and in 1677 arrived in Dublin, and entered upon his last term of office. As on a former occasion, his government, indeed the whole reign of Charles the Second, was much disturbed by Tories. The victories of Cromwell had sent thousands of the most energetic of the nation to foreign lands. The Restoration had brought many of them back, but the Act of Explanation had sent them again adrift; and those who did not go abroad remained at home to prey upon the Planters and to disturb the public peace. Some of the dispossessed begged

* Essex's *Letters* (Camden Society Publications), pp. 18, 23-4, 101; Daniel's *Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic Series), vols. xiii. and xiv.

from door to door, and with the tattered title-deeds of their former estates in their pockets excited the sympathy of their fellow-countrymen, and obtained that relief which the Irish have never been slow to give. Others, more daring than these, swelled the ranks of the Tories, sometimes got assistance from their former tenants or from relatives who had saved a remnant of their property; or, failing this, they levied blackmail on the Planters, which, like the Black-rents of a former period, and for the same purpose, were regularly paid. In Mayo and Leitrim Colonel Costello, a dispossessed landowner, kept that district disturbed until, in 1667, he was killed; the dispossessed Costigans in the Queen's County defied all the efforts of Lord Mountrath; there was a party of a hundred in the neighbourhood of Leighlinbridge; and Tories kept in terror the counties of Tipperary, Waterford, Cork and Kerry.*

But in Ulster their numbers were greatest. It was the province which had suffered most from the plantations, and therefore contained the greatest proportion of the dispossessed.† The most noted of its Tory leaders was Redmond O'Hanlon, whose exploits were talked of at every fireside, whose fame reached even to France. He dwelt chiefly in the Fews mountains, hid in woods and caves, and for ten years kept the counties of Armagh and Tyrone in subjection and fear. He issued passes, exacted vengeance when his friends were molested, and it was woe to those who endeavoured to betray him. At last (in 1681) he met his doom. The plans were laid by Ormond, in conjunction with Redmond's cousin, Art O'Hanlon, a Tory himself; and for the sum of £100 Art shot his kinsman dead while he lay asleep and unsuspecting in an empty cabin. The outlaw's death was regretted by the people, who regarded him as the avenger of their wrongs. His memory is still fresh in Ulster; every cave is pointed out as Redmond O'Hanlon's parlour, or his stable, or his bed; and in a small ancient graveyard in Tanderagee the peasants point out among the green mounds the greenest of them all—Redmond O'Hanlon's grave.‡ The first Earl of Orrery had once declared that

* Prendergast, pp. 68, 73-4, 84-90, 95.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-25.

† *Ibid.*, p. 60.

when he considered the tenacious memory of wrong the Irish had, he feared that Ireland would be always disturbed ; and it seemed as if his prophecy would come true, for long after Ormond's last term of office the Tories disturbed the public peace and were a menace to the Planters in their midst.*

Ormond loved the Catholics as little as he loved the Tories, and declared (1680) that he would rather be rid of Popish priests than of the gout.† But he was a courtier, and he knew the feelings of Charles II. and the religion of the Duke of York, and, whatever his own desires were, he desisted from any fresh persecutions. But his hands were forced. There seemed to be a morbid dread in England that Protestantism was in danger. The King's wife and mother were Catholics, and so also was his brother, the next heir to the throne. It was thought that the religion of the State might be subverted and that of the hated Papists might take its place ; and to prevent this happening a strong party was formed in Parliament. After the year 1673, its leader was the Earl of Shaftesbury. He was long the favourite of the King and supported all his arbitrary measures, but he fell into disfavour and thenceforth became the bitterest enemy of the King, but still more of the Catholics, and especially of the Duke of York. Able, energetic, astute, without scruple, or shame, or a sense of justice, and moved only by rage and disappointed ambition, he sought to inflame the public mind, both in Parliament and outside, so as to humiliate and degrade the Duke and exclude him from the throne ; and he sought to inflict fresh and crueller sufferings on the already afflicted Catholics. To accomplish his ends he stopped at nothing and rejected no assistance however base. By the Test Act (1673), which rendered Catholics incapable of holding civil or military office, the Duke of York was deprived of his position of Lord High Admiral, and in the next year his daughter Mary was taken from him to be brought up a Protestant. It was sought to exclude him from the succession by Act of Parliament ; the King had to remove

* Prendergast, p. 59.

† Cox, p. 16.

him from the Privy Council, and he was even compelled to leave England and reside for a time abroad. And to justify these proceedings a lying tale was concocted by two men of the worst character—Oates and Bedloe—who declared that the King was to be murdered and the Duke of York to succeed him; that Catholicism was to be established and all civil and military offices filled by persons of that creed; and that already the Pope had nominated Peter Talbot to be Lord Chancellor of Ireland and his brother Dick to be Commander-in-Chief. That a nation with a strong sense of justice and fair play should believe such stories from men of ill repute is indeed remarkable, but nevertheless it is true. These stories were greedily swallowed and apparently believed; the popular reason seemed to be dethroned and to have given place to madness, and the Catholics were pursued with fury. They were hooted, hissed, insulted, mobbed; the prisons were filled with them; every idle tale was believed; the grossest perjury was admitted and acted on in the courts of justice; and after trials, which in every sense were a disgrace to England, large numbers were sent to the scaffold.*

Nor was Ireland forgotten. In keeping with the persecutions in England, Ormond issued orders (1678) that all priests should quit the country and all convents and churches should be closed. Catholics were turned out of Galway, Limerick, Waterford, Kilkenny, Clonmel and Drogheda, and rewards were offered for information in the case of officers and soldiers who went to mass. Special instructions were sent from England to have Colonel Talbot and his brother Peter arrested, as being guilty of conspiracy, and so also, it was said, were Lord Mountgarret and Colonel Peppard. But Ormond found there was no such man as Colonel Peppard, Mountgarret was old and bedridden and unable to be removed. Against Colonel Talbot there was no evidence and he was set free, but his brother Peter, for no reason except that he was a bishop, was detained; and, being already in poor health, soon died from the hardships of his imprisonment.† Fanaticism was

* Lingard, vol. ix., pp. 181-5.

† Carte, pp. 478-80.

still unappeased, and in the last days of 1679 Oliver Plunket, the Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, was arrested and lodged a prisoner in Dublin Castle. His stainless character, his blameless life, his zeal for religion, his efforts to promote virtue and correct abuses were well known. He was the friend of two successive Viceroys, Lords Berkley and Essex; * even Ormond esteemed him and never believed him guilty of any crime; he belonged to the old English and was nearly related to Lords Louth and Dunsany, Roscommon and Fingal. He had these noblemen's attachment to England and to the reigning King. That he had preached and taught his people, that he had laboured for their spiritual good, in want and hunger, in poverty and cold, out in the woods and on the hills, that he had held synods and had salutary decrees enacted; that he had inculcated temperance, and punished priests who were faithless to their calling—all this was true. But in no other respect was he guilty; and in such esteem was he held that to the schools he set up many of the Protestants sent their children. Innocence, however, furnished him with no shield against injustice, and three of the clergy whom he had punished for their loose and disordered lives were found ready to accuse him. They swore he had agents abroad; that he had visited all the ports and forts of the kingdom; that he had invited over the French to dethrone the King and set up Catholicity; and that he had organised an army at home of 70,000. These charges were too grotesque to be believed, and before an exclusively Protestant jury at Dundalk (in July, 1680) no credence was given the witnesses, who were known to be drunkards and even Tories; indeed it was felt that it was they and not Plunket who should be in the dock.† Shaftesbury and his party, however, were determined to have blood, and Plunket was brought to London and tried before a court of partisan judges in the summer of 1681. Time was not given for his witnesses to arrive from Ireland; the perjuries of the witnesses discredited at

* "He was one of the best men of his persuasion I have met with" (Essex's *Letters*, p. 126).

† Moran's *Life of Oliver Plunket*, pp. 297-306.

Dundalk were accepted as facts; the accused was condemned, and on the 11th of July he was executed at Tyburn.*

In a long series of judicial murders this was the worst, but it was also the last. The full tide began to ebb, the storm to moderate its fury; the English people recovered the reason they had lost and turned their anger against Shaftesbury and his accomplices, all of whom ended badly, and some of whom died on the scaffold. In Ireland there was a corresponding calm. Ormond indeed was still the same. He left the Catholics unmolested, but his distrust of them remained. It was well known by the King and the Duke of York that he would be unwilling to confer on them any large measure of liberty, that contemptuous toleration of them was as far as he would go; and Charles, wishing apparently to go further than this, and desiring a more pliant instrument to carry out his views, dismissed him from office in the last days of 1684, and appointed the Earl of Rochester in his place. In his letters to the King and the Duke the old courtier gracefully submitted, and even gratefully recalled the favours of the past; but secretly he was chagrined; wondered whether it was his age, his sloth, or his aversion to the Catholics that formed the grounds of his dismissal; lamented that his past services were so easily forgotten; and bade his son remember that kings have no better memories than other men. Within little more than a month, before Rochester had yet come to Ireland or Ormond quitted it, the King died, and the Duke of York ascended the throne, and with his accession momentous events were at hand.†

E. A. D'ALTON.

* Moran, p. 333.

† Carte, pp. 541-3.

ART. VI.—MEDIÆVAL MANUSCRIPTS.

NEVER since the world began has the complaint of the Preacher, "Of making many books there is no end" been so abundantly verified as at the present day. The output of the press is so enormous that the world literally teems with books which can be bought at a price so small that we are apt to regard them with something of that contempt, or at least heedlessness, which almost inevitably springs from over-great familiarity. We are thus inclined to overlook all that a book really stands for—the long silent years of its author's preparation, his arduous writing of it, and the after labours of printers, binders and publishers, by which it is placed ready to our hands at a cost so insignificant and so little commensurate with the work of its production. The reason of this cheapness is, of course, the ease with which an almost unlimited number of copies may be struck off once the type is on the press.

But it was not always so. The time was when books were few and their production slow. The invention of printing dates no further back than the middle of the fifteenth century. Yet, as there were brave men before Agamemnon, so too were there books before Gutenberg gave us the printing press. How else were the Holy Scriptures, the writings of the Fathers, and the classics of antiquity preserved and handed down from age to age? Before the press entered on its career of marvellous activity copies of books had to be made by hand, letter by letter, as laboriously, as far as mere transcription is concerned, as the author wrote his original. So all books were then

manuscripts, and their variety and cost, due to the labour and pains necessary for their making, helped to render men still more appreciative of the wisdom of which they were the storehouse. Of this appreciation no more glowing expression can be found than that of our own Richard of Bury, a Bishop of Durham in the early days of the fourteenth century, who in his *Philobiblion*, addresses wisdom in these enthusiastic terms :—

“Where dost thou lie chiefly hidden, O most elect treasure, and where shall thirsting souls discover thee? Certes, thou hast placed thy tabernacle in books, where the Most High, the Light of Lights, the Book of Life has established thee. There everyone who asks receiveth thee, and everyone who seeks finds thee, and to everyone that knocketh boldly it is opened. . . . For the meaning of the voice perishes with sound; truth latent in the mind is wisdom that is hid and treasure that is not seen; but truth which shines forth in books desires to manifest itself to every impressionable sense. . . . What pleasantness of teaching there is in books, how easy, how secret! . . . They are masters who instruct us without rod or ferule, without angry words, without clothes or money. . . . O books, who alone are liberal and free, who give to all who ask of you and enfranchise all who serve you faithfully! By how many types are you commended to learned men in the Scriptures given us by the inspiration of God. If we choose to speak in figures, all the noblest comparisons of Scripture may be applied to books (*Philobiblion* Chap. i.). . . . A library of wisdom then is more precious than all wealth, and all things that are desirable cannot be compared to it. Whoever therefore claims to be zealous of truth, happiness, wisdom, or knowledge, aye, even of faith, must needs become a lover of books” (*Ibid.* Chap. ii.).

From this we see the value that was set upon books in those days, for what they contained, and for what they materially were; and a brief consideration of the manner of their making will help us to appreciate something of the force of this second reason. Our retrospect will serve to lift, in one more department, the reproach of irrationality flung by Matthew Arnold, at the Middle Ages—the Ages of Faith—and to justify the action of the more eminent

scholars who, in recent years and at present, in spite of his sneering warning against taking those ages seriously, have made them the field of their patient research.

I.

The very origin of the word book is a testimony to the antiquity of the thing it stands for. The word is believed to contain the same root as beech, and to have come into use from the fact that small tablets of beech wood and the tough inner bark of the beech tree were employed for writing upon. As to the origin of writing itself there is not unnaturally much obscurity. For information on such a point we must turn to the nation which was the most highly civilised in the earliest ages of antiquity. That some form of writing was known to the Babylonians and Egyptians thousands of years before Christ we have the indisputable testimony of the monuments. Two thousand years before Alexander of Macedon conquered Egypt and founded his city of Alexandria on the Nile delta King Suphis or Cheops built the Great Pyramid, from the sculptures of which still to be read there can be no question that writing and the preparation of writing materials were in common use at that remote time. The characters employed were either hieroglyphic of a pictorial character or a cursive hand of the same known as hieratic; and a later form for the vulgar dialect called demotic, which appears to have been introduced about 900 years before the Christian era. Paper was of course then unknown, but a substance like the inner bark of the beech tree was used. It was called papyrus or *βίβλος* from which latter term we get our word Bible. The papyrus was a sedgy plant from eight to ten feet high which grew mostly in Lower Egypt in the marshy lands and shallow pools formed by the overflow of the Nile. The interior of its triangular stalks was filled with a tenacious pithy substance which, when cut lengthwise into long, thin, narrow strips with other shorter pieces smeared with cement pressed across them, formed an excellent material for the reception of writing.

The surface to be inscribed was, of course, carefully prepared, whilst the other side was tinted with saffron or rubbed with cedar oil to prevent decay. So high was the importance attached to the industry that the growth of the plant and the manufacture of the papyrus strips were preserved as a Government monopoly. After being inscribed the strip was attached to a cylinder round which it was rolled, whence it came to be called a *volumen* or volume.

The Egyptian papyri that have come down to us are mostly of a hieratic or religious character. Some were written in hieroglyphics, whilst others were in a cursive hand, interspersed with drawing and ornamental letters in colour. A fine example is the funeral ritual of the Theban priest Ani. It is seventy-eight feet long, and is the largest known copy of the "Book of the Dead." It is adorned and illustrated with pictures, and was wrought as far back as fifteen hundred years before the time of Christ.

Papyrus was also used by the Greeks and Romans, but its growth and manufacture continued mainly in the hands of the Egyptians. The supply was, however, so limited that about 200 years before Christ, King Ptolemy prohibited its exportation. But a substitute had already been found in the dressed skins of various animals. Under Eumenes II. of Pergamos such improved methods of preparation were introduced as to gain for the skins dressed according to them a large vogue and the name of *Pergamena*—a name which is preserved in our English word parchment. Ordinary parchment is made from the skins of sheep and goats; a finer kind, known as vellum, is made from the skins of calves and kids. In spite of the growing popularity of parchment, papyrus seems to have continued in use till about the sixth century. By that time, however, it was no longer customary to make the papyrus and parchment into long rolls, but to cut them into rectangular sheets like the pages of books of the present day—a device which, though attributed to Julius Cæsar, whose letters and dispatches to the Senate were certainly so made up, more probably originated before his day.

The earliest Greek and Latin manuscripts were written

only ; but later, as we learn from Martial, Seneca and Pliny, purple vellum came to be employed and portraits were introduced as frontispieces or as illustrations scattered throughout the book. On this empurpled vellum the writing was wrought in gold—a method which, whether introduced from Egypt or the East, quickly acquired high favour in Greece whence, in the second century, it was carried to Rome. Copies of the classics made in this costly manner were, of course, the monopoly of the rich. There is a pathetic allusion to them in his preface to the Book of Job by St. Jerome in the fourth century. “Let those who will,” writes the Saint, “have old books written on purple skins either with gold or silver, or in uncial letters as people call them, provided that they will allow me and mine to retain our poor copies which are characterized less by their ornament than by the correctness of the text.” What the glory of these old books was we have no means of knowing, beyond such brief and vague allusions; for of all the sumptuous work executed in imperial times not a single Roman illuminated MS. has survived. Our oldest examples of Roman art cannot be dated much earlier than the fourth century.

After the papyri, the most ancient codices, or MS. in book form, that we have are two copies of Virgil preserved in the Vatican Library, one of which is assigned to the third or fourth century. It is written on 309 leaves of vellum about a foot long. Its first three lines are in red letters, as also are the running titles, and it contains nineteen miniatures, each enclosed in red and gold lines. This use of red, which was obtained from *minium*, gave rise to the name miniature for the title and capitals so treated. It afterwards gave way to the word rubrication, when its use came to be transferred to the ornamentation and illustrations, and so the word has no further connection with the practice of “minishing,” or painting in little, than the mere accident of its application. The pictures are drawn in familiar classical style, with thin drapery of many folds flowing or fluttering as if in the wind or from the movement of the wearer. In time, the art became popular enough to support a separate and superior class of artists, but though

their output must have been considerable, the examples of it that have survived may be counted upon the fingers.

In these pre-Christian MSS., with the exception of a Roman calendar kept at Vienna, there is no sign of that additional ornament to the text which would entitle us to regard them as illuminations in the sense rendered familiar by the MSS. of the Middle Ages. For such work we must turn to the books written in Byzantium, which in 330 A.D. Constantine made his imperial city. In Rome and the West generally art was declining amid the troubles of the barbarian invasions. With the wild hordes thundering at the gates of the City there was little inducement to the patron, and so small chance for the worker in what was so essentially an art of peace. Here was Byzantium's chance; and she endeavoured to become what Rome had been. Artists poured into her from abroad, and there in quiet kept alive the art which was dying in the Western capital. There, then, we can watch the first application of the art to the service of Christianity and thence we can follow its outflowing streams as they gradually spread through mediæval Europe. At the outset, as may be seen from examples like the Greek MS. of Genesis at Vienna, from another in the British Museum, and a sixth century Bible at Florence, this Christian art was scarcely, if at all, distinguishable from the pagan art that preceded it. But the art given us by Byzantium is not Greek art: it is Roman art transformed by its transplantation amid Greek and Oriental surroundings and the new informing spirit of Christianity—the art which dates from the gorgeous basilica of Santa Sophia and is seen in our glorious Cathedral at Westminster—the art which is a union of Greek taste and feeling with Christian moral. It may be said to have been productive from the days of Justinian down to the Conquest of the Eastern Empire by the Crusaders in the thirteenth century, or even to the downfall of Constantinople in the middle of the fifteenth.

A glance at a drawing in this Byzantine style quickly reveals evidence of the mingling of what is classical with what is Oriental. The drapery is represented as before by thin lines showing many folds; but the old freedom is

gone, the figure is lost in costume, the lines are stiff, anxious almost in their drawing, and the lights of the folds lit with gold. The first dated MS. with pictures in this style that we have belongs to the close of the sixth century—a Syriac Gospel Book at Florence and part of a later Gospel Book now in the British Museum. By the ninth century symptoms of decline were observable. But the style had done its work, and the books executed according to it formed a basis for study and copying to the native artists in Western Europe. It was the earliest Christian style, and through the agency of the missionaries—our own St. Augustine and his companions brought with them books of singular beauty—spread westwards like a flowing tide that gathers strength in its course.

II.

This explains how it is that we are confronted with the art of book-writing and illuminating in Ireland as early as the sixth century. By illumination, it should here be noted at the outset, we do not mean mere illumination of books but the lighting up of the page with bright colours and gold; or, as Mr. Edward Scott, Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum, more clearly defines it, “an illuminated MS. is one enriched with gold and colours, in miniatures, in borders wholly or partially surrounding the text and in ornamental initials” (*Guide to the Manuscripts*, &c., p. 119). In 563 Columba, a prince of the Royal house of Niall, with twelve companions, left his monastery of Durrow and settled in Iona, where his monks busied themselves in transcribing and ornamenting copies of the Gospels from the books which they had brought with them. It is said that Columba himself transcribed a Psalter and a Gospel Book, the latter of which has come down to us; and whether it is by his hand or not, it is the earliest specimen of Irish caligraphy that has come down to us. Its exact date is not known, but internal evidence shows that it is later than St. Columba's time and belongs probably to the seventh century. However, this “great Gospel Book of

Columkille," as it is first called in the Annals in 1006, was kept in the sacristy of Kells, whence in that year it was stolen. It is now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It is one of the most wonderful books in the world ; for it is the very climax of caligraphic art and has never been equalled for the variety, intricacy and unfaltering dexterity of execution. As with the most minute works of nature, the microscope only brings out the more strongly its perfection. "No single false interlacement or uneven curve in the spirals," writes Miss Stokes, "no faint trace of a trembling hand or wandering thought can be detected. This is the very passion of labour and devotion, and thus did the Irish scribe work and glorify his book." What the intricacy of Irish workmanship was we may gather with our eyes from the sight of a few pages and from the testimony of Professor Westwood, who says that, in the Book of Armagh, in a space three-quarters of an inch long by half an inch wide, he has counted no fewer than "158 interlacements of a slender ribbon-pattern formed of white lines, edged with black ones." Other famous works of the Celtic school are the Book of Durrow, the Book of MacDurnan, and the Stowe Missal. From them the chief characteristics of the style may be set down as a combination of the Byzantine interlacings with the zigzags and other patterns of pagan Ireland. The Irish monks did not produce mere slavish copies of their Byzantine originals. Rather, they adapted the style till it became in their hands new and distinct. Their interlacings became more varied and involved, yet more precise and delicate ; their work showed no regard for human interest, and even animals' forms were only introduced as terminals to their interlacings.

Not content with thus glorifying the Gospel page these Irish monks carried the message abroad. As they had crossed the seas to Iona so they traversed them to Europe, and wherever they went they carried their books and their art with them. In 634 the mission at Iona was extended to Lindisfarne, whence St. Aidan evangelized Northumbria, and was succeeded by St. Cuthbert, whose memory is still cherished on the northern countrysides.

Thus and now took place a fresh modification in the art. Just as the Celts had improved and almost re-created what they had received from Byzantium, so again their style of book ornamentation was modified by its adoption in England. The old Celtic ornament of the pagan Britons had been almost lost, but the coming of the monks to Lindisfarne brought about a revival. There on that wild shore the practice of the art took speedy root and strenuous growth, and gradually gave birth to a style which, whilst partaking of the characteristics of its Byzantine and Celtic parents, was different from both, besides being tinged with influences unmistakeably classical. Of this Anglo-Hibernian style, as it may be called, *The Durham Book* or *The Gospels of St. Cuthbert*, is the most famous example. Its text is that of St. Jerome's version, and it was made at the instance of St. Cuthbert's friend and successor, Eadfeith, who designed it as a monument of the Saint. It was finished about the year 700 A.D., and is written on 258 leaves of vellum in large folio. The next Bishop, Æthelwold, had it bound in sumptuous covers with fine goldsmith's work wrought by the hermit Bilfrith. So highly was this book regarded that it was carried as a sacred treasure with St. Cuthbert's body during its long and wonderful wanderings. It was lost in the voyage to Ireland and recovered; and was afterwards kept at Durham till the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII. It is now preserved in the British Museum. Mr. Edmund Bishop is of opinion that the text was copied from a MS. brought from Italy by a missionary, for the *capitula* follow the Neapolitan use. Adrian, one of Archbishop Theodore's companions, is known to have been abbot of the island of Nisita, near Naples, and we have it on the authority of St. Bede that he visited Lindisfarne. Sir Edmund Maunde Thompson says of it that with its exquisite colouring and its thickly laid pigments it resembles "a specimen of beautifully finished porcelain or enamel." From this and other works the characteristics of this transitional style between the Celtic and Anglian may be determined. The interlacings, spirals, and grotesque animals show Celtic influence; the light, fluttering draperies and elongated proportions of the figures

betray a classical origin; whilst the influence of Byzantium is still apparent in the return to pictures, the use of gold and silver, and the staining of the vellum with purple or rose-colour.

Thus, whilst the country was being enriched by the treasures brought from abroad by St. Benet Biscop, St. Wilfrid, and Archbishop Theodore, work was proceeding steadily at home at Malmesbury, Jarrow, and York, and, in fact, in almost every monastery throughout the land. The school of Jarrow produced the famous *Codex Amiatinus*, Ceolfrid's present to the Pope, and the Stonyhurst St. John, which Mr. H. J. White, in his *Studia Biblica*, declares has never been equalled for "delicacy and grace." In the tenth century St. Ethelwolf established a place at Hyde Abbey, near Winchester, which afterwards developed into a famous school for writing. The incursions of the Danes naturally retarded progress, for it is known that in the North alone these barbarians destroyed no fewer than fifty monastic houses with all that they contained. Still the art of writing and illuminating books continued to make steady progress, and had already become an occupation distinct from what we should call clerkship. It began, too, to show evidence of being influenced by architecture and the Norman spirit.

We are thus brought to what may be regarded as the first complete mediæval school of illumination which, beginning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, developed rapidly in the thirteenth. The change for the better is now very decided, and is especially noticeable in the spirit and lines of the figure drawing. A slight waviness still marks the draperies, but they tend more and more towards Gothic dignity and repose. The heavy German foliage begins to give way to representations of the hawthorn, the ivy, and the holly, conventionally treated. The handling is firm, in some cases even to stiffness; the animals are still grotesque and monstrous, strongly outlined in black, and tinted with flat colour. Rich line ornamentation in coloured inks surrounds the capital letters, or they are placed on varicoloured backgrounds; whilst the letters themselves begin to show signs of elongation and efflores-

cence carried as an ornament round the entire page or widening into a band panelled with subject pictures.

In Southern England, Christ Church was an active centre for the copying and illuminating of books; and there Lanfranc's influence was so strong that Mr. Montague Rhodes James talks of a "Lanfrancian script," prolific in *apices* that gave it a somewhat prickly appearance, which lasted through a large part of the twelfth century. But the art was brought to its greatest perfection at Winchester, then the Royal City of the kingdom. There the famous Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, which is now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, was written. The changes due to the stronger Norman influences that came with the Conquest were nowhere more marked than in the production of manuscripts; and they were all a gain to English draughtsmanship, for the grafting on of the foreign style checked the affectation to which our native style had been tending.

With the fourteenth century came further change. Whilst many of the features of previous work were retained, a distinct advance was made in its elaboration. The backgrounds of the figures and capitals are richly diapered with patterns in green, red, or blue, or sometimes a backing of flat dull gold is sown with burnished dots or lines. Shading takes the place of the former black lines for the folds of the draperies; the borders widen, and the ivy stem and leaf become the main form of ornament, freely interspersed with birds and animals drawn with some approach to nature. Grotesques are still frequent; indeed all is conventional, for the aim of the artist was not so much to produce a picture-book as to form a rich and worthy setting to the text. The best work was produced in the first half of the century, and the style may be said to have reached its culmination about the time of the battle of Poitiers. Later in the century the extremities of the initials became fixed bars which served as a frame for sprays of foliage, flowers, birds, and animals.

Unfortunately, however, the promise of the English school of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was not fulfilled, and it may be said that the purely English

illumination died out in the century last mentioned, a fact for which the French wars and the Wars of the Roses must be held largely responsible. Another factor in the decline, visible also in the art of other countries, was the increasing tendency towards naturalistic treatment. The art was losing its old formality and precision; the love of miniature pictures was increasing; the stiff ivy leaves gradually gave way before sprays of flowers and leaves less thinly disguised by the conventional treatment necessary for the old purely decorative purpose. At the opening of the fifteenth century these changes had made good their footing. The old continuous borders that sprang from the capital letters and swept round the body of the text were replaced by borders composed of objects from the animal and vegetable kingdoms, drawn and coloured from nature, though, in the best work, still largely conventionalized. They were thrown somewhat incongruously together from a naturalist's point of view, but with a keen eye to the effective distribution of patches of vivid colour. Thus we find a hound chasing a rabbit along a spray of briar, a squirrel nibbling nuts on the stalk of a flower, a fox in the pulpit preaching to the fowls of the farmyard under a canopy of yellow and purple grapes growing on one and the same vine. The flowers and animals thus loosely introduced were held together by a single outer line, by ivy leaves of burnished gold and occasional dots of colour in single flowers, whilst the intervening spaces were filled in with black filigree work and dots to form a background. Gorgeous birds and butterflies were also largely used for the sake of the opportunities they afforded for brilliant colour. Similarly the diapered backgrounds to the figures of the previous century were now giving way to landscapes of a style like the paintings of the period. Blue cloudless skies, paling towards the horizon, and heavily powdered with gold stars, showed the stage of transition from the diapered background to the naturalistic representation of the heavens. Sometimes the sun and moon were placed in the same sky and in impossible proximity. The distant hills were also blue with white pathways winding to their summits; the middle distances were treated in brown or

buff tinged with green and lit with gold lines ; the houses, castles and churches were generally painted in a slate-grey or yellow, with roofs of red or deep blue, crested with gold. Pale blue waters, curled with white, filled the streams, and the foregrounds were covered with grass, warming from the middle distance from a greyish buff-green to brightest emerald suffused with yellow. The grass was suggested by delicate hatching in deeper colour sprinkled with tufts and brilliant flowers. Instead of the backing of black filigree work, borders frequently had grounds of solid colour—grey, lilac, blue, dead gold, or even black. The large borders were not infrequently sub-divided diagonally, and in many, if not most, of the manuscripts of the period the border on one page is reproduced in design, though differently coloured, on the other side of the same leaf. The advantage of such an expedient is plain : it husbanded the designing power of the artist ; it saved drawing on the page overleaf, and prevented any chance of confusion in the appearance of the page from the work showing through the vellum.

The best work that has come down to us of this period is not English. As Sir Edmund Maunde Thompson has pointed out, the artistic instinct of our illuminators, far from being destroyed, had been strengthened by Norman influence, whilst of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there is abundant material to show that English book decoration was then at least equal to that of neighbouring countries. For our art of the early fourteenth century he claims a still higher position, contending that “no other nation could at that time produce such graceful drawing” (*English Illuminated Manuscripts*). But it was the brothers Van Eyck who were the true fathers of this later fifteenth century style. They were illuminators before they took to oil-painting ; and they it was who replaced the old diapered backgrounds with landscapes. One of their works, a missal written and painted for the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, during the minority of his nephew Henry VI., whose father-in-law King René of Anjou was a great patron of the art of illumination, is now in the British Museum and is one of the most richly

illuminated books in existence. Another book in this style is the well-known Book of Hours, belonging to Anne of Brittany.

How illumination would have developed or deteriorated if printing had not come to interfere with it is hard to say, and perhaps idle to speculate. But the art died hard, so hard indeed that even in early printed books of the better sort spaces were still left for the illuminator to fill in the large capitals at the head of the chapters. It is safe to say, however, that the art would have taken a yet deeper tinge of naturalism, and thus losing its old decorative purpose would have lapsed into mere illustration on the inclined plane to which it had already entered. Written and illuminated books still continued to be produced; but the logical consistency of the work was gone; the art was decaying in its very principle; and so I may well be excused from even an attempt to follow its decline through the chubby nudities and extravagances of the renaissance.

III.

Having thus seen the origin of the art of illumination and watched its growth and noted its varying characteristics, we may now briefly inquire where, and by whom, and in what spirit, it was practised. The answer has already in part been supplied. In the palmy days of Greece and of the Roman empire the work was of course done by professional scribes. But when the successive hordes of barbarians were battering at the gates of the City and overrunning Western Europe, culture and the means of developing it were difficult and, indeed, less immediately necessary than the work of defence of hearth and home. So it came to pass that only among ecclesiastics was any idea of education entertained. The consequence of this was that education and the supply of the means of it passed almost entirely into the hands of the Church. During the dark days of pillage, bloodshed and revolution that filled the succeeding centuries, the lamp of learning was kept alive

in the monasteries of the Benedictine monks. "Benedictine monasticism," as Mr. Rashdale, the historian of the University movement, points out, "created almost the only homes of learning and education, and constituted by far the most powerful civilizing agency in Europe, till it was superseded as an educational instrument by the growth of the Universities" (*Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, vol. i., p. 27). Mr. Putnam also, in his *Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages*, finds the agencies by which intellectual interest and literary activity were kept alive during the confusion and social disorganization of the early Middle Ages in "the scribes of the Roman Church, the organization of which had replaced as a central civilizing influence the power of the lost Roman empire. The *scriptoria* of the monasteries rendered the service formerly given by the copyists of the bookshops or of the country houses, while their *armaria* or book-chests had to fill the place of the destroyed or shattered libraries of the Roman cities and the Roman villas. . . . Upon these agencies depended the existence of literature during the seven long centuries between the fall of the Western Empire and the beginning of the work of the Universities; and in fact for many years after the foundation of the Universities of Bologna and Paris the book production of the monasteries continued to be of material importance in connection with the preservation of literature." Again in the same work he repeats more insistent testimony upon this point: "It was in the monasteries that were preserved such fragments of classic literature as had escaped the general devastation of Italy; and it was to the labours of the monks of the West, and particularly of the monks of St. Benedict, that was due the preservation for the Middle Ages and for succeeding generations of the remembrance and influence of the literature of classic times. For a period of more than six centuries the safety of the literary heritage of Europe, one may say of the world, depended upon the scribes of a few dozen scattered monasteries" (p. 11). To this should be added the testimony of Professor Sandys in his recent work on the *History of Classical Scholarship*. He writes:—

"While the Greek classics owed their safe preservation to the libraries of Constantinople and to the monasteries of the East, it is primarily to the monasteries of the West that we are indebted for the survival of the Latin classics. A certain prejudice against pagan learning, and especially pagan poetry, had doubtless been traditional in the Christian community. . . . A more generous spirit had animated Cassiodorus when he exhorted his monks to study the liberal arts and to follow the example of Moses, who was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and also that of the learned Fathers of the Church. . . . Thus an interest in the Latin classics had succeeded in surviving all the fulminations of the Fathers and the censures of the Church; the study of the classics being not an end in itself, but a means to the better understanding of the Bible. . . . Whilst the reading of the pagan authors was discouraged by some, no restriction was placed on the copying of manuscripts. . . . The Benedictine rule was vague, but it assumes the existence of a monastic library, and schools involved the acquisition of classical texts. Thus it is that the monasteries of the Middle Ages may justly be regarded not only as repositories of the learning that then was, but also as the wellsprings of the learning that was to be. While the records of other literatures have perished, we are indebted to the monks for the fact that (as Wordsworth puts it)—

" 'Classic lore glides on
By these religious saved for all posterity.' "

I have thought it well to dwell upon this point with what may seem almost needless insistence in order to make plain by such authoritative witnesses how baseless is the charge that the monks did little or nothing for the cause of good learning. Taking, then, this as indisputable, we may proceed to ask how it was that the monasteries came to be the workshops of the book-making trade. The answer to that question has already been foreshadowed, especially in the quotation from Professor Sandys; all that I need do, therefore, is to fill in the details.

The monastic ideal was the perfection of the soul by retirement and prayer, but very early in monastic history intellectual work was made part of the daily routine of the brethren. That was certainly the case in the foundation

of Cassiodorus's foundation at Viviers. The destruction of the Gothic kingdom had shattered his dreams of an independent Italian State, wise and strong, and he set himself to the preservation of the great works of the past in the only institutions which in times of turmoil had any stability—the institutions of the Church. And what Cassiodorus so gloriously began, St. Benedict perpetuated. The great Patriarch of the monks of the West laid down the twofold labour of hands and head for those who entered the school of divine service under his rule. Turning to the forty-eighth chapter of that Rule, we find the following regulation concerning daily labour :

“Idleness is the enemy of the soul ; hence brethren ought, at certain seasons, to occupy themselves with manual labour, and again at certain hours with holy reading. Between Easter and the Kalends of October let them apply themselves to reading from the fourth until the sixth hour. . . . From the Kalends of October to the beginning of Lent let them apply themselves to reading until the second hour. During Lent let them occupy themselves with reading from morning until the end of the third hour, and in these days of Lent let them receive a book apiece from the library and read it straight through.”

That regulation, vague and simple as it is, but uttered by one whose spiritual children multiplied from age to age in every country of Christendom, exerted a far-reaching, an almost unthinkable, influence. It gave an impulse to study and to the supply of the means of it which secured a continuity of learning and the literary tradition that made the monastic houses shine like solitary lamps in the dark turbulence which raged around them. But St. Benedict did more than give a mere direction : he established at Monte Cassino a writing room, or scriptorium, after the model of that instituted by Cassiodorus, and so set up an example which was naturally followed in the homes of his monks for seven centuries. Reading implied books, and so, as Mr. J. W. Clark attests, “Wherever a Benedictine house arose, or a monastery of any one of the Orders which were but off-shoots from the Benedictine tree, books were multi-

plied and a library came into existence, small, indeed, at first, but increasing year by year till the wealthier houses had gathered together collections of books that would do credit to a modern University" (*Libraries of the Mediæval Period*, p. 15).

This fidelity to their rule on the part of the sons of St. Benedict may be illustrated in detail by a reference to some of the provisions made for its observance by the English monks. The Benedictine General Chapter of Canterbury, in 1277, directed that "in place of manual labour the Abbots shall appoint other occupations for their claustral monks according to their capabilities—study, writing, correcting, illuminating and binding books." A similar regulation was repeated by the Chapter of 1343, whilst it seems clear from one of the *statuta* of 1388 that this work of writing and illuminating was only to be undertaken by those who had leave from their superior and for the use of the house. Thus, thanks to St. Benedict's regulation and its loyal fulfilment, the Order became permeated with the spirit of study, so that, as one of the Abbots expressed it, "Clastrum sine armario est quasi castrum sine armentario." The library was an armoury of defence in the service of the faith and against that idleness which St. Benedict had declared to be "the enemy of the soul." It is, therefore, easy to understand how, by men filled with these ideas, the multiplying of books was held in the highest estimation. To copy and adorn the text of the Holy Scriptures and the Fathers was a work of silent preaching, a silent sowing of the seed that would spring to fruitfulness from age to age.

That was the spirit which the monastic copyists and illuminators brought to their work. As Cassiodorus enthusiastically expresses it: "Of all bodily labours which are proper for us, that of copying books has always been more to my taste than any other. The more so as in this exercise the mind is instructed by the reading of the Scriptures, and it is a kind of homily to the others whom these books may reach. It is preaching with the hand by turning fingers into tongues. . . . The fast-travelling reed writes down the holy words, and thus avenges the malice

of the wicked one who caused a reed to be used to smite the face of our Saviour." Our own Alcuin of York, through whom, as Fuller quaintly puts it, learning in France was but a lamp lit from the English torch, was also of opinion that the copyist's was "a most meritorious work, more useful to the health than working in the fields, which profits only a man's body, whilst the labour of the copyist benefits his soul." The same spirit breathes in the words employed in the blessing of the scriptorium: "Benedicere digneris Domine hoc scriptorium famulorum tuorum ut quidquid scriptum fuerit sensu capiant, opere perficiant."

In view of such quotations as these it is not surprising to find an enthusiastic description of the office of the scribe from a devout old bibliophile like Richard of Bury. "Our Saviour," he says, "exercised the office of a scribe when He stooped down and with His finger wrote upon the ground, that no one however exalted may think it unworthy of him to do what he sees the Wisdom of God the Father did. O singular serenity of writing, to practice which the Artificer of the world stoops down, at whose dread name every knee doth bow! O venerable handicraft, pre-eminent above all other crafts that are practised by the hand of man, to which Our Lord humbly inclines His breast, to which the finger of God is applied, performing the office of a pen" (*Philobiblion*, chap. xvi.).

Such a spirit as is here indicated would scarcely be satisfied with the mere copying of the text, any more than it was satisfied with building the four bare walls of the church. Here as ever faith flowered into rich fancy and sacrifice so that the best might be given to God, and all that appertained to His service might be rendered as worthy as possible of its place and use. It is a point which I cannot here delay to elaborate, nor is there any need, for the evidences of it lie all around us, and a short visit to the MSS. exhibited in the cases of the British Museum is sufficient to convince us how this spirit worked in the making of mediæval books, especially those connected with the service of God. One quotation, however, and that from a recent work, I may permit myself. In his

Arts in Early England Professor Baldwin Brown writes : "The adornment was lavished on the holy thing because the toil, the costly material, the taste, the skill, were each in turn a testimony to its intrinsic preciousness. Thus was art transformed into a distinctly devotional act. To the monkish scribe and illuminator the engrossed and emblazoned page was a prayer" (vol. i., pp. 6, 7).

And here a word of caution may be uttered against the idea that in every well-regulated monastery there was a scriptorium set apart for the work of transcription, as at St. Albans, at Winchester, etc. In a multitude of houses there certainly was such a room ; but in others, perhaps even in most, the work was carried on in the cloister or in one of the little carells in the cloister windows. Oftentimes the scribe was assigned a little cell to himself. Wherever the work was done the strictest quiet was enjoined, so that the writers could pursue their labours without disturbance. The scribes were under the direction of the Cantor of the monastery, who, besides furnishing them with all they needed in the way of parchment, ink, gold and colours, also took charge of their completed work as librarian. The work was regarded as the work of the house, and the individual was merged so that we know but few of the names of the artists who wrought such masterpieces of design. Each house, too, had its characteristic style of workmanship or choice of books. Thus, St. Albans favoured the broken-backed *h*, which may be seen in the work from the hand of Matthew of Paris. Lanfranc seems to be responsible for the prickly-looking script which is found in certain books written at Bec, at Christ Church, and at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. Durham and Fountains, Ely and Winchester also had signs which those who know cannot well mistake.

Though the scribe or the illuminator did not usually sign his work after the manner of the modern artist, he did not always leave it without some stretching forth of the hand to his fellows in the aftertime ; and this usually took the form of a request for a remembrance in the prayers of those who might read what he had written. What

a touch of nature there is in the reminder given by a Bavarian monk of the arduousness of his labour :

"Dum scripsit friguit, et quod cum lumine solis
Scribere non potuit perfecit lumine noctis."

It was natural that the scribe, at the close of his long labour, should desire to put himself in touch with his reader. He was sending the book forth upon which he had lavished his thought and care and love—sending it forth on a mission the length and luck of which he could in no way foresee, but from which he might well hope much ; and so we see him inditing requests for prayers, breathing a touching spirit of humility, or uttering a malediction on those who should steal or abuse the work of his hands :

"As pilgrims rejoice beholding their native land, so are transcribers made glad beholding the end of a book."

"Ye who read pray for me who have written this book, the lowly and sinful Theodulus."

"If anything is well, praise the scribe, if ill, pardon his unskilfulness."

"The hand that has written this book shall, alas ! decay and become dust and go down to the grave, the corruption of all bodies. But all ye who are of the portion of Christ pray that I may obtain the pardon of my sins."

"Keep safe, oh Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the three fingers with which I have written this book."

Sufficient, too, has been said to make it clear that the making of a book fairly writ, collated, and worthily illuminated, was a work of time. Even with every advantage that could come of long and continual practice and natural quickness, many of the pages in the richer manuscripts would take days to execute. It will, therefore, be understood that in those days and under such circumstances books were very precious and costly—precious and costly enough to be handed down as desirable heirlooms, to be capable of proving overwhelming temptations to theft, worthy of being offered as gifts at the altar and numbered as most cherished possessions in the treasuries of the churches. Thus we read of immense sums being asked

and given for books ; and so solemn was the transaction of the sale that it was thought necessary to attest it by documentary and legal evidence as specific as in the conveyance of land. We read of an Elector of Bavaria offering a town to a community of nuns in exchange for a single manuscript ; of such a price being paid as two hundred sheep, fifteen quarters of wheat, besides rich furs and a large sum of money. Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, at the close of the fourteenth century paid £100 (Tournay) for a concordance to the Bible, £60 (Parisian) for a copy of the Bible itself. For a Bible in French he paid 9,000 francs.

IV.

Yet, in spite of the cost of their production, large collections of books were got together in the monasteries and by private collectors like Richard of Bury and Duke Humphrey of Gloucester. We know that long before the day of dissolution the two great monastic houses of Canterbury possessed nearly 2,000 volumes each, Peterborough 350, Durham nearly 1,000, Dover Priory 450, the Augustinians at York 650, whilst the College libraries at Oxford and Cambridge contained in all several thousand volumes. As to the total manuscript wealth of the religious houses at the accession of Henry VIII. it would be difficult to form anything like an exact estimate ; but in the single department of church service books alone, Mr. Maskell has calculated that there could not have been fewer than 250,000 of various sorts in actual use throughout the kingdom, without counting those preserved as treasures in the archives ! The mere thought of the dispersion and destruction of this wealth of beautiful books is sufficient to strike the heart of the book-lover with sadness. As a writer in the *Quarterly Review* some months ago declared, "the subject is by no means a pleasant one. However strongly one may be convinced that the monasteries had done their appointed work in the development of our

civilization, no one who has studied the times of the dissolution can do otherwise than reprobate the methods by which the great spoliation was effected, and bewail the destruction of things venerable and beautiful ; a destruction so far-reaching that it has deprived us of the means of doing more than guess at its full extent." Mr. John Willis Clark, of Cambridge, in his monumental volume on *The Care of Books*, puts the matter in forcible though in general terms when he tells us that " upwards of 800 monasteries were suppressed ; and as a consequence 800 libraries were done away with, varying in size and importance from Christ Church, Canterbury, with its 2,000 volumes, to small houses with little more than the necessary service books." The dissolution of the monasteries meant the dispersion of these libraries, whilst Edward VI.'s Act of Uniformity ordered the giving up of the old service books of the churches to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, to be, as the act expressed it, " defaced and abolished." And so thoroughly on the one hand did greed and ignorance do their work, and so fully on the other were orders obeyed, that these marvels of exquisite penmanship and artistic skill, wrought in God's honour and for the love of learning, were sought out and destroyed as if they had been foul things the very sight and touch of which were poisonous. Thanks to this wholesale havoc, and in spite of the efforts of furtive piety and worldly appreciation, these old service books are now, as Mr. Putnam laments, " rarer in the land than the cylinders of Babylon or the paper-rolls of Egypt." Out of all its hundreds of volumes the University Library of Oxford has now only four or five, whilst Cambridge can only point to nineteen out of nearly 400. Several of the College libraries have disappeared entirely. Henry VIII. did at first, it is true, seem to have some idea of founding a great royal library out of the books taken from the dismantled abbeys and priories and nunneries, but as the writer in the *Quarterly Review*, already quoted, declares, " the King's desire for immediate gain got the upper hand." The few months necessary for bringing the books together were too much to allow, and an irreparable loss was inflicted upon

England. The Royal Commissioners made no attempt to save them or rescue them from the hands of the spoiler; and Mr. Clark assures us that they were either burnt as mere rubbish or put to the vilest uses. John Bale, whose reforming zeal earned him a bishopric from Edward VI., had no love for the monks, but even he was shocked at the wanton destruction that was taking place, and he denounced it in unmeasured terms:

"To destroy all without consyderacyon is and will be unto England for ever a most horryble infamy amongst the graue senyors of other nacyons. A greate number of them which purchased these supertycouse mansions, reserved of these librarye bokes some to serve their jaks, some to scoure their candlestykes, and some to rubbe theyr bootes. Some they sold to the grossers and sopesellers, and some they sent over sea to the boke-bynders, not in smalle number but at times wholle shypes full, to the wonderynge of foreign nacyons. I know a merchant man which shall at this time by nameless that bought the contents of two noble libraryes for XL shyllinges pryce, a shame it is to be spoken. This stuffe hath he occupied in the stede of graye paper by the space of more than these X yeares, and yet he hath store enough for many years to come."

Other facts similar to those here set forth by John Bale have been brought to light by two of the librarians at the British Museum. They tell us how at one monastery the books were torn up by the soldiers, who waded over the room knee-deep in the leaves. The glovers of a town supplied themselves with vellum for ten years from the spoil of a single abbey. At Malmesbury leaves from the manuscripts were used for patching broken windows and heating the ovens of the bakers. Records of some of the sales that took place speak contemptuously of "old books in the choir" going for eightpence, and of a "flat chest with five books in it" being knocked down for the same miserable sum. And yet these were books the mere market value of which is not to be calculated by pence or shillings, but by hundreds and, in some cases, thousands of pounds. The Bedford Book of Hours in the British Museum is valued at over £2,000. Similar destruction took place even in the University towns, where the recovery

of books had, in the days before the New Learning, formed the subject of petitions to kings. Old Antony à Wood tells us how the College libraries were treated; how the manuscripts were carted through the town on biers to the market-place and there burnt as objects of superstition, many of them "guilty of no other superstition than red letters in their fronts and titles."

Better times came at length, and now these Bibles and prayer-books and ancient classics and treatises on which adornment was lavished as a holy thing and a precious, a setting to knowledge the pearl of great price, were sought out and gathered together. Neither time nor money were spared, and they are now the most highly-valued possessions of the libraries in which they are treasured. The British Museum is credited with some 50,000, the Vatican has about half that number, the Bodleian at Oxford 30,000, Lambeth 14,000. Whole treatises have been devoted to their description and to accounts of the men who wrought them. It is recognised that these beautiful old books represent, as we have seen, a labour of love; that they are the handiwork of men who thought nothing too good for the adornment of God's holy word or for His service; whose spirit of faith and reverence, lit by the lamp of sacrifice of which Ruskin speaks so eloquently, would rather, where God was concerned, build in marble than in stone: would rather carve the stone and paint the wall and embroider the vestment and gild and colour the page than leave bare and unadorned. So it was that they produced works which are the admiration of all who now behold them, and set a standard of almost impossible attainment.

"I know of no stronger proof of the healthy condition of the Church at that time," said Ruskin, showing an illustrated manuscript to a friend, "than the evidence of these books, when they used to write their psalm-books so beautifully and play their initial letters so freely and artistically."

This chance remark, dropped in the course of conversation, finds amplification in his autobiography:

"I never," he writes, "cared for ornamental design until, in 1850 or '51, I chanced at a bookseller's in a back alley on a little

fourteenth century *Hours of the Virgin*, not of refined work, but extremely rich, grotesque, and full of pure colour. The new worlds which every leaf of this book opened to me, and the joy I had counting their letters and unravelling their arabesques, as if they had all been of beaten gold—as many of them indeed were—cannot be told any more than everything else of good that I wanted to tell. Not that the worlds thus opening were themselves new, but only the possession of any part in them; for long ago I had gazed at the illuminated missals in noblemen's houses with wonder and sympathy deeper than I can now give; my love of toil and of treasure alike getting their thirst gratified in them. . . . But now that I had a manuscript of my own, and could touch its leaves and turn its pages and even here and there understand the Latin of it, no girl of seven years of age with a new doll is prouder or happier: but the feeling was something between the girl's with her new doll and Aladdin's in a new spirit-slave to build palaces for him with jewel windows. For truly a well-illuminated missal is a fairy cathedral bound together to carry in one's pocket with the music of the blessing of all its pages besides.

“And then followed, of course, the discovery that all beautiful prayers were Catholic—all wise interpretations of the Bible Catholic” (*Præterita*, vol. iii., chap. i., p. 36).

With these eloquent words ringing in our ears we may well bring our survey to a close. Manuscripts and illuminated books are now things of the past, fair relics of ages when men held the same faith and cherished practical ideals which included something more than the utilitarian spirit of the present. The scribe would, however, be powerless to meet the countless and increasing demands of to-day; and if now his work constitutes no more than one of the interests of the antiquary and a by-way of art, it is a by-way which invites us to wander lingeringly by its beauty and the wealth of its associations.

J. B. MILBURN.

ART. VII.—“MAN'S PLACE IN THE UNIVERSE.”

PART II.

BEFORE proceeding with the explanation of Dr. Wallace's argument, by which he maintains his opinion that this Earth is *probably* the one only abode in the Universe of highly organized, or at least intelligent, life, I wish to recall to the minds of my readers a few of the leading conclusions at which we have already arrived. One of these is the remarkable fact that our Sun and the accompanying planets are situated *approximately* in the centre of the Stellar Universe, so far as we know it; a circumstance which does not absolutely prove anything, but suggests to the mind something peculiar and exceptional about the Solar System; which also the enormous distance of the Sun from the nearest star seems to corroborate. This presumes (and I think we may say rightly) that the physical Universe is not infinite in extent.

Then another noteworthy circumstance is that a large number of the stars are undoubtedly what we term double stars; indeed, in some cases, triple or multiple systems, two or more stars revolving around their common centre of gravity: here again, though there is nothing conclusive, we have a state of things so widely different from what exists in our own system, that we may infer, and not unreasonably, that there are no planets circulating around these stars resembling our own Earth in its suitability for the production and maintenance of life. The case of the planets of the Solar System is considered later on, and we

shall see what our author has to say on that part of the subject.

We are now approaching the most interesting part of Dr. Wallace's work, in which he treats of what he terms "the delicate balance of conditions which alone renders organic life possible on any planet"; and here he is treading on fairly safe and sure ground; he adds that these conditions must not only "be such as to render life possible *now*," but that they "must have persisted during the long geological epochs needed for the slow development of life from its most rudimentary forms," as to which, perhaps, we cannot be quite so certain, especially when we are considering the case of other planets than our own.

First of all, however, he calls our attention to the "uniformity of matter," and the identity of "the elements and material compounds in Earth and Sun, stars and nebulae." A large number of the elements known to us here have been found to exist in the Sun. Some of the stars appear to have nearly the same chemical constitution, while others differ in detail and exhibit mainly lines of hydrogen. Of the nebulae, comparatively little is known.

It is to the spectroscope that we are indebted for all this knowledge, and a remarkable corroboration is afforded by the analysis of the meteorites which not infrequently fall on the Earth: they may be supposed to give us samples of planetary matter; and if it be true that many of them have been produced by the debris of comets, it is probable that they bring us matter from the remoter regions of space. None of these meteorites have been found to contain a non-terrestrial element, and as many as twenty-four known elements have been discovered in them.

Moreover, we have, besides the general identity of the elements of matter, a uniformity in some of the most important laws that govern it. Thus it seems evident that the law of gravitation extends to the whole physical universe, this being well illustrated by the motion of double stars around their common centre of gravity in elliptical orbits. The laws of light also are evidently the same throughout the solar system as those upon Earth; and, as we gather from spectroscopic observation, the same also in the far

distant regions of the stars ; and, indeed, as our author tells us, " we have in some cases been actually enabled to reproduce in our laboratories phenomena with which we had first become acquainted in the Sun or among the stars." From all this he infers, and surely not without reason, that living beings, wherever in this universe they may exist, must be in essential nature the same everywhere. I cannot refrain from quoting the following passage, so well worthy of the reader's attention, *in extenso* : " The outward forms of life, if they exist elsewhere, may vary almost infinitely, as they do vary on the earth ; but throughout all this variety of form—from fungus or moss to rose-bush, palm, or oak ; from mollusc, worm, or butterfly to humming-bird, elephant, or man—the biologist recognises a fundamental unity of substance and of structure dependent on the absolute requirements of the growing, moving, developing, living organism built up of the same elements, combined in the same proportions, and subject to the same laws."

The author does not deny that organic life might exist under wholly different conditions in other universes, where other substances replace the matter of our own universe, and other laws prevail. But *within* the universe we know, there is no reason to suppose such a thing to be possible, excepting under the conditions and laws which prevail here. This contention surely is reasonable ; moreover, the question which is really interesting is whether it is probable that there are, as inhabitants of other worlds, intelligent and responsible creatures such as man, not whether there are monsters or low types of animal life ; though even as to these Dr. Wallace would scarcely admit them. And it may be noted that the enthusiasts who have been anxious to people the planets with inhabitants, suppose them to be gifted with human intelligence—as witness the absurdities in which some of them indulged during the opposition of the planet Mars, and his comparative approach to the Earth, a few years ago.

The portion of the volume before us, which I am now considering, has an especial interest, because here the veteran biologist is at his best. When he treats of " essential life-conditions," and " the Earth in relation to life," and

kindred subjects, he is dealing with scientific matter on which he is eminently qualified to speak, and of which he probably knows as much as any man living. I wish indeed I could persuade such of my readers as have access to the work to read carefully and in detail all those chapters in which these subjects are so skilfully handled, and of which I can scarcely hope to be able to convey an adequate idea in the sketch which my limited space permits me to make.

The author observes that before trying to comprehend the conditions necessary for the development and maintenance of organic life comparable to what we have on this Earth, we must obtain some knowledge of what life is. Now the living body, at least in its higher developments, consists of complex but unstable forms of matter, all of which is in a continual state of growth or decay. It absorbs matter from without, acts upon it mechanically and chemically, rejecting what is useless, and transforming the remainder so as to renew its own structure, and throwing off, particle by particle, the worn-out portions of its own substance. Then, in order to do this, its whole body is permeated throughout by branching vessels or porous tissues, by which liquids and gases can reach every part and carry on the above-named processes. Besides all this, living organisms have the power of reproduction: in the lowest forms by a process of self-division or "fission"; in the higher by means of reproductive cells, which possess the mysterious power of developing a perfect organism identical with its parents even in minute details, reproduced as they are with close accuracy, though often involving metamorphic changes during growth of so strange a nature that if they were not familiar to us they would be treated as incredible. Our author refers again to this a little later on, and he evidently considers it one of the most curious, not to say puzzling, of all the phenomena of life. He says, "Every living thing of the higher orders arises from a microscopic single cell when fertilized, as it is termed, by the absorption of another microscopic cell derived from a different individual. These cells are often, even under the highest powers of the microscope,

hardly distinguishable from the cells which occur in all animals and plants, and of which their structure is built up ; yet these special cells begin to grow in a totally different manner, and instead of forming one particular part of the organism, develop inevitably into a complete living thing with all the organs, powers, and peculiarities of its parents, so as to be recognizably of the same species." He evidently thinks this a "mystery" not easily solved ; all the more when we consider the growth of thousands of complex organisms with various peculiarities, and all arising from these minute cells or germs, the diverse natures of which are indistinguishable even by powerful microscopes, but which differ so widely in their development.

The physical basis of life is protoplasm, consisting essentially of four common elements, the three gases, nitrogen, hydrogen, and oxygen, with carbon ; and, with regard to this last, the chemical compounds of carbon are more numerous than those of all the other chemical elements combined ; and this explains the fact that the animal tissues, such as skin, hair, nails, muscle, etc., consist of the same four elements (with occasionally minute quantities of sulphur and other substances), so that these tissues are produced as well in the grass-eating sheep or ox as in the carnivorous tiger. Innumerable diverse substances are formed out of the same three or four elements, the endless variety of organic acids, fruits, sugars, gums, oil, camphor, resins, medicinal alkaloids, the essential principles of tea, coffee, and cocoa, with very many other things. "If this were not indisputably proved it would scarcely be credited."

It seems that the most important element in protoplasm is nitrogen, which readily enters into compounds ; ammonia (a compound of nitrogen and hydrogen, produced by electric discharges through the atmosphere) being an instance. Plants by their leaves absorb oxygen and carbon-dioxide ; and by their roots absorb water, in which ammonia and oxides of nitrogen are dissolved, and thus they produce protoplasm. But, as stated by Professor F. J. Allen, all this sensitiveness of nitrogen, and its proneness to change its state of combination and energy, appear to depend on

certain conditions of temperature and pressure, which exist at the surface of this Earth.

An important fact is the existence in the atmosphere of a small proportion of carbonic acid gas. The leaves of plants absorb this gas by the means of a peculiar substance, chlorophyll, from which they derive their green colour, and which has the power, under the influence of sun-light, to decompose it, the carbon being used to build up the structure of the plant, while the oxygen is given out; so that the leaves of plants are not merely ornamental appendages, but most marvellous structures, doing what no other agency in nature can perform.

Besides absorbing carbonic acid, plants as well as animals continually absorb oxygen from the atmosphere. Thus is built up the wonderful beauty of the vegetable world, with bud and foliage, flower and fruit, more indispensable to our nature than the world of animals; for, as our author remarks, "*we could have plants without animals; we could not have animals without plants.*"

It must be observed that protoplasm, being a structure of atoms built up into a molecule, is only the starting point or material out of which the varied living bodies are formed. Thus proteids are formed when sulphur in small quantities is absorbed into the molecular structure, chiefly in the case of animals; so also a number of other elements, such as phosphorus, sodium, potassium, are absorbed and moulded, everything being utilized and finding its proper place.

Dr. Wallace, in continuation of his argument, proceeds to discuss certain physical conditions essential for the support of organic life on the surface of our Earth. First, there is the regularity of heat supply, with a limited range of temperature. Vital phenomena, he tells us, for the most part occur between the temperatures of freezing water and 104° Fahr.—this being supposed to be due mainly to the properties of nitrogen and its compounds. A small increase or decrease of temperature beyond these limits, if continued for any considerable time, would destroy most existing forms of life. It is worth noting that the normal blood heat in a man, which is 98° Fahr., is constantly maintained within one or two degrees, notwithstanding the

great range of external temperature. With the exception of man and a few of the higher animals, which are so perfectly organized as to be able to adapt themselves to some comparatively extreme conditions of heat and cold, the great majority cannot do so.*

The second essential condition is a sufficient amount of solar light and heat. It is doubtful whether the higher animals and man could have been developed without solar light; and it is clear that without plant-life land animals could not have existed. The plant alone can take out of the small proportion of carbonic acid in the air that carbon which is so necessary for building up its structure. It does this by the agency of solar light, and even of a special portion of that light. The question is therefore raised whether *any* sun would answer the purpose: our Sun does so, but the stars differ greatly in their spectra, and therefore in the nature of their light; and it is quite possible that they would not all be able so to act.

The third condition is abundance of water, the necessity of which is so obvious that it need scarcely be discussed; it constitutes, in fact, a very large proportion of the material of every living organism, and about three-fourths of our own bodies. Later on attention is called to the special conditions that have secured the continuous distribution of water on the Earth.

A fourth condition for development of life is an atmosphere of sufficient density and composed of suitable gases; the coincidence of which, it is remarked, may be a rare phenomenon in the universe. A rather dense atmosphere is an important necessity as a regulator of temperature and a reservoir of heat. At about 18,000 feet above the level of the sea the atmosphere is half its density at the sea level. We know what a temperature exists at such an altitude; and if it existed at the surface of the earth, life in its higher forms would be hardly possible; and there would be a deficiency in the needful supply of oxygen to animals and

* It is, however, to be remarked that the anthropoid apes, natives chiefly if not entirely of tropical countries, cannot without the greatest difficulty be made to live in a cold, damp climate like England; whilst some coarser animals, if we may so term them, such as lions and bears, seem to adapt themselves to almost any climate.

carbonic acid to plants. Indeed, the combination of gases in the atmosphere—oxygen, nitrogen, and the small proportions of carbonic acid and ammonia—is apparently indispensably requisite for plants, and consequently for animals. The aqueous vapour also, which exists in the air, is essential to plants, supplying hydrogen, and preventing too rapid a loss of moisture from the leaves.

The last important condition is the alternation of day and night. The author admits that it is possible that in a world of perpetual day or night life *might* have been developed; still, considering the varied circumstances which combine to its preservation and renewal, anything of even a slight character might turn the scale against it. Thus the average duration of day and night, about twelve hours for each, in the tropics, prevents the earth from becoming heated to such a point as to be inimical to life. Supposing the day and night were very much longer, say fifty or one hundred hours each, the great and continual contrasts of heat and cold would probably have been most injurious.

So again the distance that the Earth is from the Sun tends towards a comparatively moderate temperature, while the equalizing power of air and water, distributed as they are with us, acts in the same way, preserving a great portion of the earth from the extremes of heat and cold. If we were at half the distance from the Sun which we now are, we should have four times the heat; and on the other hand, if at twice the distance we should have only one-fourth of the heat we have now.

So also the obliquity of the ecliptic, causing the change of seasons and the inequality of day and night in the temperate zones, is a more important matter than some people imagine. If, for instance, the Earth's axis were as that of Uranus is believed to be, almost exactly in the plane of its orbit, the contrasts of heat and cold would be simply overpowering. On the other hand, if the axis were at right angles to the plane of the orbit, though such a state of things would be much more favourable, there would probably be grave counterbalancing disadvantages, preventing some considerable part of the Earth's surface

from supporting the varied vegetable and animal life that it now does.

It is a curious fact, well known to geologists, that in remote ages the climate of the earth was more uniform than it is now. Dr. Wallace considers that this can be best explained by a slightly different distribution of sea and land, which allowed the warm waters of the tropical oceans to penetrate into various parts of the continents (more broken up than they are now), and also to extend into the Arctic regions. At any rate, there is no doubt of the fact, as the remains of fossil plants and trees found on the west coast of Greenland in 70° N. lat., and even to some extent in Spitzbergen in lat. 78° and 79° , prove incontestably. Some of the great coal beds of the world were formed from a luxuriant vegetation such as does not now exist in the same latitudes. This is supposed to indicate an atmosphere in which carbonic acid gas was much more abundant than it is now; and the probability of this is increased by there being at that period a small number and low type of terrestrial animals. There seems to have been a denser and more vapour-laden atmosphere, acting as a sort of blanket over the earth and preserving the heat brought by the ocean currents from the tropics to the Arctic seas.

There were, however, great changes of climate and indications of ice action, the cause of which is not so evident. On the whole there was a continuity of conditions favourable to life, and particularly to an abundant vegetation.

Many persons are aware that the oceans occupy more than two-thirds of the whole surface of the globe; but it is not so generally known that the mean depth of the water is more than six times the mean height of the land. This is due to the enormous depths of the oceans over very large areas, while most of the land area is occupied by lowlands, mountains and high plateaus, forming a comparatively small portion of it, so that it has been calculated that if all the land-surface and ocean floors could be reduced to one level, the whole would be covered with water about two miles deep.

Our author holds, contrary to the opinion of some geologists and biologists, that the continents and oceans have not changed places since the ancient geological times, but that the features of the surface of the globe are on the whole and in the main what they then were. He gives good reasons for this opinion, remarking also that had the great oceanic basins been unstable, changing places at various periods with the land, they would almost certainly have swallowed up the land in their vast abysses.

As to the way in which the ocean depths were produced, he inclines to the opinion of Professor George Darwin (a very great mathematical astronomer); with regard to the origin of the Moon, to an opinion published in a popular form by Sir Robert Ball. This supposes the bulk of the Moon to have been detached from the Earth at that remote period when the crust of the latter was in a much less stable condition, and its rotation much more rapid; then there was left, of course, a vast chasm in the earth, which became filled with water, and thus was formed the Pacific ocean; while owing to tidal action on the opposite side of the earth, the Atlantic ocean was also formed. Those who are interested in these matters will do well to peruse Chapter xii. of the work before us. However this may have been, there is no question of the importance of this vast bulk of water in regulating the temperature of the globe. Owing to the property of water in absorbing heat, the surface of the tropical oceans becomes warm to a depth of several feet; this warms the lower and denser portions of the air, and this warmth is carried to various parts of the earth by the winds; while the great ocean currents, such as the Gulf stream, carry the warm water of the tropics to temperate or even arctic regions. Besides all which, the great ocean area forms a vast evaporating surface, from which the land derives most of its water in the form of rain and thereby of rivers.

What has determined the total quantity of water on our globe is not known; but presumably it may have depended on the mass of the earth being sufficient to retain by its gravitative force the oxygen and hydrogen of which water is composed. The important point is that, were it not for

the deep ocean basins, supposing the same quantity of water to exist, it would overflow the land to a considerable depth, leaving the tops only of high mountains and plateaus above the surface of the water.

If then the quantity of water on the earth is so important for our well-being, what must we not think as to the value of the atmosphere, such as it exists? Besides its supplying us with oxygen through respiration, the winds that it produces bring about an equilization of temperature, and also distribute moisture over the earth by means of clouds. The hurricanes that occur in some latitudes are formidable as it is; but if the air were denser than is the case, their force would be far more destructive; and if there were a much greater amount of sun heat, these tempests might become so frequent as to render considerable portions of the world uninhabitable. Then again the trade-winds have an important function in initiating the ocean currents which have so great an effect in equalizing temperature, the Gulf stream being a well-known instance.

So also wherever the winds blow over extensive areas of water on to the land, clouds are formed, and more or less rain falls; and thus the larger portion of the surface of the earth is well supplied with rain, which, falling most abundantly in the elevated and cooler regions, percolates the soil and gives rise to springs and rivulets; and these uniting together form rivers, which again return to the sea the water from which they were derived.

Much of this has long been well known; but there is another fact not so generally understood, still proved by experiment, and that is the abundance of minute dust particles in the air. The density of a cloud depends on these as well as on the quantity of vapour. These dust particles serve more than one purpose: in the higher atmosphere they become very cold, and condense the vapour, thus assisting materially in the production of rain. Then the blue colour of the sky is believed to be due to them, since they reflect the light of short wavelengths from the blue end of the spectrum; in the lower atmosphere, however, the particles are larger, and reflect all the rays, thus diluting the blue colour near the horizon,

as the various hues of sunset show to us. This power of reflecting light that the particles of dust possess is of immense consequence to us in another way, as our author tells us: were it not for them the sky would appear black even at noon, except in the actual direction of the Sun, and we should not receive the light from the sky we now do. It is difficult to say what effect this kind of light would have on vegetation; but owing to the constant sunshine during the day, the soil would tend to become arid and bare in places that are now covered with plants of various kinds.

This dust, it appears, comes from volcanoes and deserts and arid regions of the world, and is carried by the density and mobility of the atmosphere to a great height, and distributed by the motion of the air in all directions. If the atmosphere were half as dense as it now is, the winds would have less carrying power, and possibly fogs close to the surface of the ground would take the place of the clouds that now float above it. There would be a diminished rainfall, and other injurious consequences. This density again depends on two factors—the force of gravity due to the mass of the planet and the absolute quantity of free gases constituting the atmosphere.

There is one more fact to be noticed. Vegetable organisms obtain the chief part of the nitrogen they require from ammonia, carried into the earth by rain. Now this substance is produced by the agency of electrical discharges causing the combination of the hydrogen in the aqueous vapour with the nitrogen of the air. Here again clouds are most important agents in accumulating electricity in sufficient amounts to cause the violent discharges which we call lightning, and which, destructive as we know them sometimes to be, appear to be beneficial in a way that few people suspect.

Our author, in order to show how nicely adjusted are all our conditions on this earth, points out that if the mass of the globe were much smaller than it is, the lighter atmospheric gases would not be held on its surface. So again if the mass had been much greater, say double what it is now, the quantity of gases attracted and retained by gravity

would probably have been double, and so a much greater quantity of water would have been produced, since no hydrogen could then escape, and the water would perhaps have sufficed to cover the surface of the earth several miles deep.

We now arrive at the momentous question as to the inferences to be drawn from all the facts that have been here stated, many of which facts are undoubtedly such as would be admitted by all men of science.

I may remark, before going further, that one of Dr. Wallace's critics expressed a suspicion that he had been influenced by some religious bias in the conclusion which he had drawn. I do not, of course, know how far that may or may not be true; but though he touches once or twice on the religious question, once at the beginning of his work when referring to the opinion of Sir David Brewster and others, and again in a remarkable passage at the close of the volume, he certainly argues the question on purely scientific grounds, and upon these he must be answered if answered at all.

To return however to our author's arguments—beginning with the solar system—he recalls to our minds how numerous and how delicate are the conditions here on earth which are requisite for the preservation of a sufficiently uniform temperature. Is it then likely that any of the other planets, which have either much more or much less sun heat than we receive, could by any possible modification of conditions be rendered capable of supporting a full and varied life development?

I may at once observe that as regards the outer planets, the larger orbs of our system, he simply rules them out of court. Their remoteness from the sun and the comparatively small quantity of light and heat that they receive from him, is of course a formidable drawback to the development of organic life. But that is not all: their low density is almost conclusive against them as abodes of life; Jupiter is less than one-fourth the density of the earth, and the others still less. They are supposed to retain a considerable amount of internal heat, and to be almost gaseous in their structure. It is not at all likely that they are

inhabited; and I believe that Dr. Wallace would on this point have the concurrence of most, if not all, modern astronomers.

As to the inner group of four planets, the question is not quite so clear, and yet even here much may be said against the probabilities of their being abodes of life, that is, life such as we know it, the Earth of course excepted. Mercury is a small planet, its mass being about one-thirtieth that of the Earth, and it probably cannot retain aqueous vapour and the lighter gases, and if so it possesses very little atmosphere. Our author says that it keeps one face always to the sun (its day being equal in length to its year); and if that be the case the extremes of heat and cold in a planet so near the sun must be excessive. This, however, is by no means known for certain, for it is difficult to determine by observation. Still, I think on the whole that the case against Mercury being habitable is a strong one.

Venus, on the other hand, has in all probability a dense atmosphere, a great moderator of temperature, but the planet is ruled out by our author on the same ground partly as Mercury, that of rotating on its own axis in the same time that it revolves round the sun, under which circumstances the violent changes of temperature would be almost prohibitive of animal and perhaps vegetable life. But it is doubtful whether this is the fact, for Venus appears to be enveloped in a cloud canopy, and there are no marks on such a surface by which we can judge at all accurately of the period of axial rotation. The opinion of modern astronomers tends to agree with what Dr. Wallace states, and therefore the probability is rather against the planet being habitable than in favour of it.

There remains the planet Mars, which has afforded a sort of playground for misguided enthusiasts. Mr. Maun-der, a generous critic, though he criticizes a too hasty judgment of Dr. Wallace's, seems to feel indebted to him for his opinion against the habitability of Mars, as a protest against the absurdities of some of those writers who imagine that the so-called canals in the planet are the work of skilled engineers, and even that certain white

spots on the terminator are signals to the inhabitants of the Earth.*

The author of this work holds that Mars contains no water or aqueous vapour in its atmosphere, and that its apparent polar snows are caused by carbonic acid or some other heavy gas. The absence of aqueous vapour is the point on which Mr. Maunder criticizes him, considering the evidence to be insufficient. Mars is much smaller than the earth, and owing to its greater distance from the sun receives less than half the amount of heat from him per unit of surface that we do. It is most likely that its atmosphere is very rare, and apparently contains scarcely any clouds, judging from its low reflecting power. From all which circumstances we may infer that its surface temperature is, during the greater part of its day, very low. On the whole it must be considered to be doubtful if it can support anything but a low type of vegetable life; but this is all we can say—certainty is not attainable.

Dr. Wallace reminds us of the well-known difference of opinion between geologists and physicists as to the duration in years of life on the Earth. Considering the great length of the tertiary period, "during which *all* the great groups of the higher animals were developed from a comparatively few generalized ancestral forms," and the still greater length of the secondary and primary periods, geologists have concluded that two hundred millions of years are required to account for all that has taken place from the earliest forms of life (as represented by fossilized remains) to the present age. Dr. Wallace puts a million of years for the human era, but here I think there must be some mistake, for I do not remember ever to have seen so extravagant an estimate. Some geologists have assigned one hundred thousand years to the time of man's life on the earth, and the more moderate ones have said thirty thousand. To my mind it is hardly credible that one million years should have elapsed without some trace of historical record having been

* Some of these theorists, at the time when Mars was in opposition (a few years ago), seem to have been so ignorant of even the rudiments of astronomy as not to know that at that time the earth would hardly be visible at all from Mars, excepting as a small black spot crossing the sun in case of a transit.

left by primæval man. But to return to the question between geologists and physicists, he quotes Lord Kelvin as maintaining that the whole life of our Sun as a luminary is probably less than fifty millions, but possibly between fifty and one hundred million years. He holds that there are reasons for thinking that the biological and other changes may have gone on more quickly than has been supposed ; and that geological time may possibly be reduced so as to meet the maximum period allowed by astronomers ; but there will certainly be no time to spare ; and it must also be remembered that our Sun is now cooling, and that its future life will be less than its past. If, then, these things be true, he holds that no other planet has developed or can develop such a complete life series as we have on the earth. Mercury, Venus, and Mars could not have preserved equability of conditions long enough for life development ; and Jupiter, and the planets beyond him, will require a long time to become cool enough for such a purpose ; while the Sun also will become cooler (and perhaps rapidly so), and they will not have the requisite heat from him. So it is most likely that they will never be abodes of life. And now, if I may be allowed to sum up, I may say that I think as regards our own system Dr. Wallace, though with some little exaggeration, has fairly made out his case ; and that considering the vast period of time during which the Earth was unfit for habitation, and the relatively short period since its higher forms of life appeared, and also the delicate balance of conditions under which life even now exists, the chances (if I may venture so to express myself) are against any of the other planets being in a state at present—and I do not wish now to discuss the possible future—for developing and maintaining life, at least in its higher and more perfect form. Our globe is, therefore, I think, so far as the solar system is concerned, the one great life-house of creation.

But a far more difficult question arises when we come to deal with the stellar universe. Dr. Wallace, however, does not shrink from it. First, he remarks that while many of the brightest stars are much larger than the Sun, probably

ten times as many are smaller. The whole duration of our own Sun has only been just sufficient, as it appears, for the development of life on the Earth ; and suns that are much smaller are unsuited to give adequate light and heat for a sufficient time and with sufficient uniformity for such life-development on any supposed planet attached to them, even allowing for other necessary conditions. He goes on to say : "We must probably rule out as unfitted for life-development the whole region of the Milky Way, on account of the excessive forces there in action, as shown by the immense size of many of the stars, their enormous heat-giving power, the crowding of stars and nebulous matter, the great number of star clusters, and especially because it is the region of 'new stars,' which imply collisions of masses of matter sufficiently large to become visible from the immense distance we are from them, but yet excessively small as compared with suns, the duration of whose light is to be measured by millions of years. Hence the Milky Way is the theatre of extreme activity and motion ; it is comparatively crowded with matter undergoing continual change, and is therefore not sufficiently stable for long periods to be at all likely to possess habitable worlds."

The stars most likely to have planets suitable for life-development, if indeed there are any such, are those composing the solar cluster ; they are a small number compared with the "hundreds of millions" estimated by some astronomers to be in the stellar universe. And yet, even here, there are probably many that are unsuitable. Professor Newcomb holds that the stars in general have a much smaller mass in proportion to the light they give than our Sun has ; also that the brighter stars are, on the average, much less dense than the Sun, so they cannot give light and heat for so long a period ; then, even of those of the solar type and of an equal mass with the Sun, only a portion of the period of their luminosity would be suitable for the support of planetary life.

Our author raises a question as to the stability of the star system, and is inclined to the opinion that other forces besides that of gravitation—electro-dynamical, for instance

—are acting on them; and he also attaches considerable weight to our comparatively central position. As regards this last point, I follow him so far as thinking it highly suggestive of some peculiar advantage to our system; but it will not do to press it too far; and when he attributes our uniform heat supply to this central position, he is obviously treading on very uncertain ground.

The strong point in his favour, I think, is the discovery of such a number of double, and in some cases multiple, stars; the spectroscopic binaries as they are called, that is, pairs of stars, which appear like a single star in the most powerful telescopes, are known to be numerous, and may prove to be far more numerous still; and we see at once that in such systems the probability of there being life-producing planets is very small. Then if we add to these the stars still in process of aggregation, the remaining ones which may conceivably have planets revolving round them, and those planets suitable to life, may be after all not very many.

But after granting all this, it is plain that we must leave the question in a state of profound uncertainty. It is known that there are dark bodies revolving with some stars around their common centre of gravity, and it is not easy to rule out all these as being utterly unfit for supporting life. Yet, as we are only balancing probabilities, perhaps the scale weighs more heavily against the existence of these life-producing planets than for them.

There is an interesting dissertation in the work before us as to whether the stars are beneficial to us. They give, of course, a certain amount of light, however comparatively small; but it also seems very possible that the radiation from them has some chemical action on the leaves of plants. These considerations are in answer to those who think that the stars, if not centres of life-bearing planets, must be held to be useless. I do not myself think that arguments of this nature require an elaborate answer: we cannot penetrate into the counsels of an Almighty Creator, and we must be contented in many things to remain in ignorance. At the same time, if our author is right in assuring us that the light of the very faintest stars does produce distinct

chemical changes, and that possibly the large amount of growth of foliage that takes place at night may be partly due to this agency, such a fact is, of course, very curious and instructive.

Dr. Wallace appears to be confident that he has proved his thesis, that is, of course, so far as it is susceptible of proof, "that man, the culmination of conscious organic life, has been developed here only in the whole vast material universe we see around us." His argument seems to go further, and to extend to all the highly organised animals; but we need not trouble ourselves much about them; and it is, perhaps, better for the present purpose to confine our attention to the human race. If this be so, he thinks there are two explanations: one which he thinks will probably be adopted by men of science, most of them perhaps—that the conclusion is true, but due to a fortunate coincidence. My own humble opinion is rather that they will deny that the evidence is sufficient, and will dispute the conclusion altogether. But however this may be, it is to be noted that Dr. Wallace believes that there is another body of men, and probably much the largest, who holding the superiority of mind to matter, and that the two are distinct, cannot believe that life, consciousness, and mind are products of matter; such persons, he thinks, if shown that there are strong reasons for supposing that man (as he exists on this earth) is the supreme product of the universe, will see no great difficulty in going a little further and believing that the universe was brought into existence for this very purpose, that is, for the sake of man.

I commend this striking passage to the careful perusal of my readers, for the *précis* I am endeavouring to put before them can scarcely convey an adequate idea of its eloquence and its force.

In reply to those who cannot understand how such a vast universe has been brought into existence, and yet so small a portion of it occupied by the one intellectual being—man—he suggests, as an illustrative argument drawn from the vegetable creation, the spores of ferns and the seeds of orchids, of which millions go to waste for one which reproduces the parent form. In the animal world, especi-

ally among the lower types, the same thing is to be seen. One cannot see the use of the enormous variety of species, or the vast hordes of individuals. For instance, there are at least a hundred thousand distinct species of beetles now existing; and in some parts of America mosquitoes are said to be so abundant that they sometimes obscure the light of the Sun. And when we think of the myriads that have lived during the long ages of geological time, the apparently useless immensity of life is brought home to our minds still more forcibly. "All nature," he says, "tells us the same strange mysterious story of the exuberance of life, of endless variety, of unimaginable quantity. All this life upon our Earth has led up to and culminated in that of man." Then in a passage which follows shortly, he asks, "Is it not in perfect harmony with this grandeur of design (if it be design), this vastness of scale, this marvellous process of development through all the ages, that the material universe needed to produce this cradle of organic life, and of a being destined to a higher and a permanent existence, should be on a corresponding scale of vastness, of complexity, of beauty?" I would call attention most particularly to the words at the commencement of this extract that I have last quoted, where the author introduces the word *design*, cautiously it is true, "if it be design," but evidently with a real meaning and intention; and I would ask, are they not remarkable words coming from the joint inventor with Darwin of the theory of evolution by natural selection? I do not mean that there is any necessary antagonism between the belief in a Providential design and the theory of natural selection moderately and reasonably stated; but one would scarcely have expected that one so deeply committed to this last-named system should have written not merely the passage I have quoted, but the whole elaborate argument leading up to it.

It is quite true that in his work on Darwinism, published some years ago, Dr. Wallace, while stating that he agreed with Darwin on the evolution of man, so far as his body was concerned, expressly recorded his dissent as to the human mind and intellect, which he maintained could not have been derived from an inferior type. In fact he said there

were three things which no mere material process would account for: the commencement of organic life (even in its vegetable form); the first advent of conscious life (distinguishing the animal from the vegetable); and the mental powers of man, all of which must be ascribed to some spiritual influence. But even this would hardly have prepared us for the powerful argument drawn from the numerous and complex conditions of life upon this Earth, an argument directed no doubt to another conclusion, namely, that this is probably the only habitable world, but indirectly leading on to the almost inevitable inference of a Divine power, originating and influencing the whole course of nature. And I may recall to the minds of my readers that passage in which the author calls attention to the microscopic cells indistinguishable in their earliest stage from one another, yet belonging to totally different creatures, and possessing the power of reproducing and developing a perfect organism identical with its parents even in minute distinctive details (Chapter x.), as a remarkable illustration of this mysterious governing power, working by the ordinary laws of nature, and yet in a way which seems to baffle human intelligence.

I lay all the more stress on this important passage from the concluding chapter in our author's work, because I have noticed a tendency even amongst good Christians to shrink from reliance on the argument drawn from the apparent manifestation of design in the world around us in proof of the truths of natural religion. This may be due partly to the sneers of infidels at the argument when crudely stated; but perhaps still more to their own imperfect acquaintance with the mass of evidence that can be produced in its favour, so abundantly exemplified in the work I have been reviewing. For though the reasoning is directed to the proof of another point, yet it is none the less cogent. There may indeed be men who, without denying the facts as stated by our author, will attribute them to the fortuitous concurrence of atoms; and if so I can only say I do not envy them their state of mind, morally or intellectually. But whether that be the case or not, I myself feel that the whole question of Providential design, and the evidence that

science affords us in proof of it, may well be considered as possessing a higher interest for us than that of the existence of other inhabited worlds; for as to this latter subject no definite conclusion is possible, and I feel that there is some truth in the words which Professor Newcomb is said to have written in answer to a question of this nature—"the reader knows just as much of the subject as I do, and that is nothing at all." But though we can *know* nothing, we can weigh probabilities, and here my sympathies are with Dr. Wallace; and yet, supposing we were obliged to think otherwise, and to believe that there are intelligent inhabitants of other worlds, though our mind might be puzzled and our imagination bewildered, we might well leave the whole matter in the hands of the Almighty Being who created these far distant peoples as well as ourselves, and who would doubtless provide for them no less than for us; while nothing even so should shake the conclusion so justly to be drawn from the experience we have here around us of the workings of Divine Providence, to which indeed are due the orderly movement of the heavenly bodies in obedience to the great law of universal gravitation, and also, as Dr. Wallace has so ably and forcibly explained, the adjustment of the conditions of our life on this Earth, even to the finest and minutest details.

Dr. Wallace, before concluding, quotes the well-known passage from "Hamlet," beginning, "What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty!" a well-chosen quotation, showing, as it does, that the complex argument of the man of science arrives at the same point as the intuitive judgment of the great dramatic poet.

F. R. WEGG-PROSSER.

ART. VIII.—A FRENCH CONTEMPORARY
ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF
CHARLES I.

IN the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris there exists a thin quarto volume—containing some sixteen pages in all—whose yellow, faded leaves still seem instinct with something of the dismay and horror with which they were penned and published in the year 1649. The little book recounts the trial and death of King Charles I., and is the work of the Sieur F. de Marsys, teacher of the French language and interpreter at the Court of St. Germain to the two elder sons of the judicially-murdered King. He thus describes himself on the title page:—"Interprète et maistre pour la langue Françoise du Roy d'Angleterre regnant à présent, et de son Altesse Royale Mr. le Duc d'York son frère."

De Marsys was well acquainted with England and the English tongue, for he had been attached to the French Ambassador in London, Comte d'Harcourt, from 1642 to 1644. On his return to Paris in 1645 he published an interesting account of some of the events of those three troublous years,* and his narrative gives evidence of so much conscientious care and painstaking accuracy, his appreciations of acts which he could not but condemn are expressed so calmly and dispassionately, that we could wish for no better guarantee of the good faith and accuracy of the little volume under our consideration—though, indeed, there exists another witness to our author's minute exactitude in a later work, the only other he ever seems to have

* See DUBLIN REVIEW, October, 1902, "A Contemporary Picture of the Religious Troubles in England in 1642-3."

written—a translation into French of the King's *Eikōn Basilikè*. It is interesting to note, remembering de Marsys's close connection with the Court of Henrietta Maria, that not the slightest doubt as to its authorship ever seems to have crossed his mind; the *Eikōn* was evidently accepted by Charles's widow and children and their servants as the King's own work.

De Marsys, whose name is to be found in no French biographical dictionary nor in any of the numerous memoirs or histories of his day, has left no other trace of his existence but the three above-named works, of only one of which, his book on the troubles in England between 1642 and 1644, is there a copy in the British Museum. A MS. letter of his is mentioned in the list given at the end of *Macpherson's Original Papers* of important documents preserved in the old Scotch College in Paris, but I have been unable to discover if it is numbered among those saved from the College after the French Revolution.

On the title page of the *Trial and Death of the King*, de Marsys tells us that he has "faithfully translated the report of several English gentlemen who were present and took the whole down upon tablets," and in the *Avis au Lecteur* he gives his reason for having undertaken the translation:—"My duty and the attachment I bear to the Court of England have forced me to take my pen in hand in order to disabuse the public, and to save a second life, I mean the reputation of the most just and unfortunate Prince who ever lived.

"His enemies, to insult his memory after death, have published a relation of his trial and of his last words, conformable to their other actions. And the worst of it is—*le pis est*—that an interpreter at Rouen has translated it into our tongue, taking it for true. . . ."

We can find no trace of the Rouen translation; but the pamphlet alluded to, and of which the Bibliothèque Nationale has a Flemish translation published in 1649, was probably the regicide John Cook's "King Charles: his case; or an appeal to all rational men concerning his trial in the High Court of Justice," a very scurrilous production, in which the King is compared to Cain, Machiavelli and

Richard III., and accused, among other things, of complicity in the death of his father. Cook, who acted as Solicitor for the Commonwealth at the trial, published this pamphlet immediately after Charles's execution, and we are able to approximate the date of the publication of de Marsy's rejoinder within a few months, as his office of French teacher to Charles II. and the Duke of York most probably expired in September, when the two young Princes left Paris for Jersey, to remain there nearly a twelvemonth. It was, therefore, under the influence of a very recent impression, and while in close and constant contact with the exiled Court, that he wrote the pages, of which I give the following extracts, which are interesting, as varying somewhat from the accepted traditions, and as being anterior to the publications of Herbert (1678), Nalson, who quotes the official journal of the High Court of Justice (1683), the *Black Tribunal* (1660), Sanderson (1658), and others.

The account translated by de Marsys was evidently written in March, as it says: "The first of last month," February (N.S.), the King was brought before the Court and protested against its jurisdiction.

The President (Bradshaw): "You are not allowed, nor any other man, to enter upon that question. We are assembled here in the name of the whole Kingdom, and all your predecessors have been responsible to that sovereign authority."

The King: "I know of no example thereof; and I absolutely deny that you are assembled in the name and with the consent of the whole Kingdom, and I take all my subjects to witness; if you derive your authority from them, I ask for no other judges than my people to examine into my actions."

The President: "You must not interrupt the Court. Parliament has the right to judge and to condemn you."

The King: "How many among you have been elected by the people? Where are the Lords and the Bishops? Does the place you are in (Westminster Hall) make you members of Parliament? . . . Were the Commons ever a Court of Judicature?"

The President: "You are not allowed to continue this discourse. . . . How say you, Sirs? Serjeant, remove your prisoner."

Tuesday, February 2, the judges, who were also the accusers of this innocent Prince, assembled to the number of seventy-three to authorise their parricide; and it was remarked that the King, entering the hall accompanied by the satellites, regarded the whole assembly with a severe and majestic air. Mr. Cook, Solicitor-General, reminded the Court that on the previous day the prisoner had despised the authority of the Court, and that it was allowable to condemn him by default, as had been done to several other persons, who had deserved it less than he.

The President: "Charles Stuart, you subterfuges and your evasions greatly offend the Court, your delays are vexatious and importunate; therefore, answer to the charge without contesting the Court's authority, else we shall deprive you of the liberty we have accorded you to make your defence, and shall pronounce sentence upon the testimony of the witnesses."

The King persisted in asking for proof of the Court's authority in the same terms as on the previous day.

The President: "This is the third time you have disobeyed the Court, justifying yourself with arrogance and contempt." Then, turning to the Solicitor-General: "Mr. Solicitor, make your charge."

The Solicitor thereupon presented a paper to the King, ordering him for the last time to answer the accusations of having traitorously and maliciously taken up arms against the Parliament and the nation. The King, having read it, said: "I tell you again, it is not the fear of death makes me deny your authority; all these formalities are but mocks to deceive my subjects, and to establish your new and illegitimate authority; you mean to found it on my person, hoping none will dispute the laws, which the law-giver himself has signed with his blood. In like manner there is no greater testimony to the truth of the Christian law (if I dare make the comparison) than the death of Christ, who sealed it with His own blood; but if your tyranny obliges you to delude the people, I am obliged, as

their father and their governor, to disabuse them, and to maintain their liberties and their privileges." Interrupted by the President: "Truly, you well maintained their liberties and privileges." The King: "I call God and all my subjects to witness, and you also, who are not ignorant, that I am the object of your rage and indignation because I opposed your tyranny." The King then repeated the arguments of the previous day, pointing out the insufficiency of the tribunal—the Lords and the Bishops being excluded therefrom. . . .

The President: "You cease not to calumniate the Parliament. But you shall learn by its effects that this Court is a Court of Justice; your recusancy and your silence are an avowal. Truly, your actions speak for themselves, and you have written them in characters of blood upon the whole Kingdom."

The King: "You oblige me to justify myself in spite of myself, but I do it not as a criminal, nor as before my judges, but before impostors and tyrants of the people, seeking to authorize their crimes on the ruins of my innocence. You know better than I, that when I had despoiled myself at your hands of my highest prerogatives, and had granted you even more than you had asked, you drove me from London, saying my condescensions were too great not to be suspect. You know you were the first to levy arms. . . . You know that I made proposals of peace a hundred times, which you always evaded. . . . After that, who is guilty of the bloodshed, you or I?"

The President: "You should never have borne arms against the Parliament; you should have submitted yourself to its will."

The King: "I should have betrayed the cause of all those whom you attacked, my own dignity which you imperilled, and the Church which you were destroying."

The President: "It suffices that you were seen, sword in hand, at the head of our enemies; and that you raised your standard to be guilty of death. . . ."

Thursday, February 4, the Commissioners assembled for the trial, that is to say, those who had the largest consciences, and the hardest and most impious hearts, heard

the witnesses who deposed to all the crimes charged against this unfortunate Prince, which were nothing but a succinct recital of his victories, or of his defeats, and proved nothing but that he had been engaged in warfare. One deposed to having seen the King at the head of his troops, and sword in hand, at Beverley in Yorkshire, another at Edgehill, another at Gloucester, at Naseby, in fine, at several other places where the King had exercised the functions of a soldier or a commander.

In a word, the very actions which have won crowns and triumphs to the Cæsars and Alexanders who had despoiled half the earth, give death and funeral to a King who strove to maintain his own authority, the liberty of his peoples, and the religion of his predecessors.

On Friday the King came not to the Parliament, which was occupied in resolving upon what should be executed on the morrow; and the King communed with God alone, and prepared for the sacrifice of his crown and his life.

Saturday, February 6, the Court assembled and the President appeared in a scarlet robe. . . . The King demanded to be heard by the Lords and Commons, and was remanded while the Court deliberated; it was resolved not to hear him because, said they, he only made the demand to prolong the business, and they knew not what might be plotted meanwhile. . . . After half-an-hour the King was brought back and the President, after making a long deduction of all the marks of a bad government, declared the King to have been guilty of them, and quoted many examples of kings who had been maltreated by their subjects, among others that of the most innocent and holy princess, Mary Stuart, grandmother of the King, whom the impious policy of a second Jezebel sacrificed to her own jealousy and ambition. This long panegyric of the execrable murders of queens and kings being ended, the President ordered the Solicitor-General to read once more the list of all the crimes charged against the King, after which he pronounced sentence of death upon him as "Tyrant, traitor, murderer and public enemy. . . ."

Those barbarians themselves marvelled at the constancy with which this prince received their condemnation, to which

he only responded by a quick glance towards Heaven, as if to implore pardon for their impiety and blindness.

I omit de Marsy's description of Bradshaw's curt refusal to allow the King to utter his protest against the sentence passed upon him, the hurried passage through the turbulent and insolent soldiers, back to Sir Robert Cotton's house and thence to Whitehall, as it is almost identical with the later well-known accounts. Describing the visit of the little Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth to their father, he adds: "They are still prisoners of those barbarians, who will perhaps sacrifice them also to their fury, if the Princes of Christendom do not snatch them out of their hands. . . . We only know through the kindness of that Prince and Princess all the comfort they derived from the exhortations of their king and father. . . ."

Nothing is more remarkable in this little book than the expressions of respect for the sincerity of Charles's religious feelings at a time when religious differences were so acute, when modern tolerance was undreamed of, and when the writer had been an indignant eye-witness of several barbarous executions of his co-religionists during Charles's reign, although he had always admitted the King's personal abhorrence of them as well as his impotence to prevent them. After recording the King's refusal to receive the noblemen who attempted to see him for the last time, lest they should interfere with his preparation for death, and Dr. Juxon's sermon on the Passion of our Lord, "despoiling death of its thorns and bitterness," de Marsys adds: "And the King had the Sunday and Monday to familiarize himself with death—*pour s'approprier avec la mort*—to break all the links of terrestrial and paternal love, that he might rise the more lightly to Heaven. . . ."

"It is with horror that I tell you of the indignities offered to this King by the insolent soldiery; and as if they feared that, like the Prince of the Apostles, he should escape imperceptibly from his prison, they slept in his chamber, getting drunk and shouting, so that it was impossible for him to rest; and as he had an insurmountable horror of tobacco and had begged them not to use it, the ruffians replied that they were not there to obey him or give him

his ease ; they pulled open his bed-curtains ; they spat in his face. . . . Thus did the Prince pass the whole night in the hands of the most sordid and furious *canaille* ever vomited forth from hell."

There is happily reason to believe, so far at least as the last night was concerned, that de Marsys's account goes a little beyond the truth ; for, according to Herbert, who slept on a pallet in his chamber, the King slept soundly for four hours, and himself roused Herbert a little before the dawn. It is true that in the official "Journal of the High Court of Justice for the Tryal of King Charles I." we find under date of 17-27 January : "Ordered, that a Guard, consisting of 30 Officers and other choice Men do always attend the King . . . and that two of the said 30 do always attend in his Bed-chamber." Nalson writes : "The Soldiers continued their brutish carriage towards him . . . not suffering him to rest in his Chamber, but thrusting in, and smoking their tobacco and disturbing his Privacy."

It is to be hoped that Herbert's account of the eve of the execution is the true one, viz. : that when the order was made known to the King that two soldiers were to spend the night in his bed-chamber, he expressed his disgust, merely by a gesture, and that Dr. Juxon and Herbert himself expostulated so earnestly with Colonel Hacker that the men were withdrawn. There can be little doubt, however, that the conduct of the triumphant soldiers in the day-time—their smoking, drinking, and insults to the fallen King—were such as de Marsys describes. Several accounts agree as to their outrages on his passage through Westminster Hall—"casting the smoke of their stinking tobacco into his face (no smell more offensive to him) . . . but one, more insolent than the rest, defiled his venerable face with his spittle, for His Majesty was observed with much patience to wipe it off with his handkerchief" (*England's Black Tribunal* . . . printed for J. Playford, 1660).

It is to be feared that the account translated by de Marsys must, for some time at least, have been accepted by the widowed Queen and her servants as the exact description of the King's last night upon earth. How soon Herbert's

account reached St. Germain's we know not—his book only appeared in 1678.

The most interesting passages relating to Charles's last hours are the following :—"Tuesday, February 9. The King was conducted from St. James's . . . across the Park to Whitehall, which was full of infantry in order of battle. The Bishop of London was beside him, and Colonel Thomlinson, captain of his guard, who addressed His Majesty bare-headed. He was also accompanied by several gentlemen of his household, who had come to receive his last commands ; he passed through the Gallery of Whitehall to the chamber in which he had been accustomed to sleep in the days of his splendour ; he was asked if he would dine, he said no ; he had received Communion an hour ago, and that was sufficient antidote against the venom of death ; that, thank God, he was in very good heart. Having employed the dinner-hour in prayer in the closet where he had ever been used to pray, he passed out surrounded with the same guard as before into the Court of Whitehall. This Prince, whose constancy triumphed over so many enemies, triumphed even over death itself, which could not efface from his sacred visage the living image of God, or stamp its own upon it ; he walked head erect, with such majesty as if in some important ceremony. . . . His doublet was of black satin, and he wore a cloak of the same and the blue ribbon and the George of the Order of the Garter ; the scaffold was hung with black, with four iron staples at the corners. . . ." Sanderson gives the reason for this latter precaution : "It was supposed that the King would not submit his neck to the enemies' axe, and, therefore, it was so provided with staples and cords that he could not resist."

De Marsys describes the King's resolute mounting of the scaffold, and records the whispered rumour that the two masked executioners were no other than Fairfax and Cromwell, "who were nowhere seen the whole of that day. . . . You must know that the ordinary executioners, though well accustomed to deeds of blood, were horrified to lend their hands to this dreadful parricide, and either fled or hid themselves. The whole Fairfaxian army

was under arms, and upon scaffoldings beyond great crowds of people, who had been made to believe that their King was only to have the fear of death, and that it was needful to use these formalities for the satisfying of justice."

The account of Charles's dying speech varies very little from that given by Nalson and other writers. Only in the passage relating to the people is there a notable difference. The accepted and often-quoted version is as follows: "For the people, and truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whosoever, but I must tell you that their liberty and freedom consists in having of government those laws by which their life and their goods may be most their own. It is not having share in government, Sirs; that is nothing pertaining to them." De Marsys has it: "As for the laws, you need but follow the ancient laws, which are very proper for the people of this nation, and are a very good compromise—*sont un très beau tempérament*—between the encroachments of the people and the sovereign power of the Monarchy. . . ."

"Noticing the gentlemen who were writing down his words, he said to them: 'Sirs, I am sorry I did not take the trouble to prepare my discourse; these are my heart's sentiments without varnish or disguise, such as they will soon appear before the Divine tribunal, where innocency needs no eloquence nor oath to justify itself.' The King said to Colonel Hacker: 'Take care, if you please, that I am not made to languish.' Then he took off the collar of his order which he placed in the hands of the Bishop of London, and a ring from his finger, which it is believed he commanded should be given to the Prince of Wales. He put off his doublet and resumed his cloak over his waistcoat; then, so well had he familiarized himself with death, putting on a night-cap he had in his pouch, he pushed his hair under it. They wished to fasten him to the staples, but he said there was no need, and that he died without repugnance; then, having made his prayer and spoken some little time with the Bishop, he knelt down and laid his head on the block, saying to the executioners: 'I would it were a little higher, but no matter, it must serve; give the stroke when I stretch out my arms,' which he did incontinent, and

the axe separated that royal head from his body, no doubt to encircle it with another crown which no vicissitudes of fortune can endanger. The executioners immediately disappeared, and the soldiers, with a cry of joy and triumph, bared their swords, while the cowardly people of London, who had so persecuted the fair life of this prince, now gave vain and useless tears and groans to his tragic death.

"One of the soldiers climbed on to the scaffold, and fixing the King's head on the end of his partizan, with a torrent of blasphemies showed it to the people, and his body was placed in a coffin covered with black velvet, where it now reposes in his chamber at Whitehall."

De Marsys ends with an impassioned address of condolence to Queen Henrietta Maria, and of fervid hope that the princes of Christendom will take her cause and that of her children into their hands, and avenge the murder of the King.

The last letter which Charles I. wrote to the Prince of Wales accords more nearly with de Marsys's account of the speech on the scaffold than with Nalson's: ". . . The next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend, and move, is that of Civil Justice, wherein the settled Laws of these Kingdoms . . . are the most excellent rules you can govern by, which, by an admirable temperament, give very much to Subject's industry, liberty and happiness . . . whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenious Liberties; . . . and the benefit to those Laws to which themselves have consented."

How the news was received at the exiled Court we are told in *Renaudot's Gazette*, dated St. Germain, March 18, 1649. After describing in terms of detestation the King's trial and execution, he says: "No sooner were the sad tidings received here than they overwhelmed with grief the hearts of all, especially of this Court, immersed in mourning; for it would be impossible to describe to you the sobs, the lamentations, and the tears of his inconsolable spouse, which provoke scarcely less grief in all those who behold in such a piteous case this daughter of the great Henry, aunt, sister, and mother of Kings."

M. H.

ART. IX.—THE MORALITY OF THE CREATOR.

THE question of the origin of evil is really twofold. We may ask how is it possible that two principles so mutually antagonistic as evil and good should exist in apparently inseparable combination; and again, we may inquire why the omnipotent, omniscient, and all-benevolent Creator, to whom reason requires us to ascribe the origin of the universe, should have permitted evil to exist?

We are bidden by modern science, indeed—or rather by some of its exponents—to hold that evil, whether physical or moral, is but an incident of the development of creation: a moment in the gradual progress of things from lower to higher conditions of existence. But, apart from evidence of every sort, this is a notion which fails to commend itself to the universal sense of mankind—to that immediate consciousness of reality which underlies all processes of reason, and which, in the long run, is too solid to be shaken by argument; and from which we may expect always to hear, under the pressure of the tragical occurrences of life, the “how” and “why” above mentioned.

The two questions are closely connected, and the answer, if answer there be, to either, must no doubt involve the solution of both. But it is the latter that most insistently calls for a reply. An impartial student may ask, “How can these things be done?” But “why should they be?” is the passionate cry of suffering humanity. Viewed thus, the metaphysical aspect of the question sinks into insignificance beside the moral problem it involves. It

is asked not merely how did the evil which is apparently an inseparable condition of human life originate: but how can its existence, be its origin what it may, be reconciled with that of a Creator who is all that He must be, if He exists at all? If Almighty God is perfectly good, how could He create such a world as this? If He could create no better one, how can He be omnipotent? If evil came into the world unforeseen by Him, how can He be omniscient; and if He foresaw it, how can His goodness be vindicated, since He not only suffered it to be, but Himself brought it into being, by the creation of an order of things in which, as He foreknew, evil would certainly arise?

But God is necessarily omnipotent, omniscient and perfectly good. He is otherwise unthinkable; and to predicate anything less than this of Him would be a contradiction in terms. Therefore, if the facts of experience do not warrant a belief in His omnipotence, omniscience, and perfect benevolence, the only possible conclusion must be that He does not exist at all, otherwise than as in some vague manner immanent in the material universe.

For it must be observed that, though the attributes of God must obviously be predicated of Him in a sense different from that in which the same or similar terms are applied to finite creatures, there must be an identity of principle, at least, between them; since otherwise they would have no meaning whatever, as used to connote the Divine attributes. The position of J. S. Mill* on this

* J. S. Mill. Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy, ch. vii. "If, instead of the 'glad tidings' that there exists a Being, in whom all the excellences which the highest human mind can conceive, exists in a degree inconceivable to us, I am informed that the world is ruled by a being whose attributes are infinite, but what they are we cannot learn, nor what are the principles of his government, except that 'the highest human morality which we are capable of conceiving' does not sanction them; convince me of it, and I will bear my fate as I may. But when I am told that I must believe this, and at the same time call this being by the names which express and affirm the highest human morality, I say in plain terms that I will not. Whatever power such a being may have over me, there is one thing which he shall not do: he shall not compel me to worship him. I will call no being good who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures; and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go." . . . "The Divine goodness, which is said to be a different thing from human goodness, but of which the human conception of goodness is some imperfect reflexion or resemblance, does it

point, though expressed in language of unnecessary violence, is theologically correct, and is merely a repetition, though possibly an unconscious one, of what St. Thomas had said before him. The terms of human language can be predicated of God only *analogically*, not *synonymously*. But they cannot be predicated of Him *equivocally* without being evacuated of all meaning whatever.

It must not be supposed that there exists anything like a logical necessity of adopting one or other of the two alternatives just stated: indeed, the precise contrary is the case. We are by no means in the position of having to prove the goodness of God to be manifest in creation, or else to disbelieve in His personal existence; since there is a weight of evidence in favour of it—beyond the all-important fact of revelation—against which a theoretical and transcendental difficulty cannot logically prevail. An apparent antinomy which belongs exclusively to a sphere beyond the bounds of human experience cannot rightly be held to invalidate any of the inferences to which that experience inevitably leads us. The existence of evil is beyond question a difficulty; but it need not, and in strict reason should not, occasion a single doubt. It takes its place in Christian philosophy as a trial of faith, or a test of intellectual humility.

But beyond the sphere of faith, this difficulty does unquestionably occupy a very large place, both as underlying many aberrations of individual conduct and as a weapon in the attacks which have been made from time to time, and never more strenuously than now, upon the faith of the Church, and upon the idea of the Christian revelation

agree with what men call goodness in the *essence* of the quality—in what *constitutes* it goodness? If it does, the 'Rationalists' are right: it is not illicit to reason from the one to the other. If not, the divine attribute, whatever else it may be, is not goodness, and ought not to be called by the name. Unless there be some human conception which agrees with it, no human name can properly be applied to it: it is simply the unknown attribute of a thing unknown; it has no existence in relation to us, we can affirm nothing of it, and owe it no worship. Such is the inevitable alternative."

Compare St. Thomas (*Contra Gent.*, i., 33): "Si nomina dicuntur de Deo et creaturis omnino æquivoce, nihil per ea nomina de Deo intelligimus, cum significationes illorum nominum notæ sint nobis solum secundum quod de creaturis dicuntur; frustra igitur diceretur aut probaretur de Deo quod Deus est ens bonum, vel si quid aliud hujusmodi est."

itself. It is, indeed, not often directly treated; but its influence is none the less potent in almost every form of objection to the idea of a personal God and the Christian conception of His dealings with the human race.

Thus one of the earliest forms of intellectual opposition with which the Church had to deal, whether on the part of heterodoxy or of heathenism, was the idea that God could not subject Himself to the conditions of human life—much less submit to an ignominious death—without derogating to an impossible extent from His incommunicable Divine prerogative. Docetism attempted to evade the difficulty by denying reality to our Lord's human nature.* The Gnostics, by their theory of the self-existence and inherent evil of matter, sought to defend the goodness of the Creator at the expense of His omnipotence. The Emperor Julian reproached the Christians with "worshipping a dead Jew."† The common groundwork of all these notions is obviously the difficulty of ascribing to God complicity with evil in any form; and that He should condescend to endure it in His own person is, in this connection, only the extreme form of that consent to evil which is, for argumentative purposes, equally involved in His toleration of suffering in others. Precisely the same idea underlies Professor Huxley's criticism of the Gospel account of the Gadarene miracle, which he considers unhistorical for the reason (among others) that it included a wanton destruction of property which a person of our Lord's character could not have perpetrated or countenanced.‡

Again, it would be hardly too much to say that all the attacks upon the Church as a body claiming supernatural origin and powers have derived most of their force, in the popular mind at least, from considerations of the same kind. All such attacks, from Docetism to the latest Protestant tract, have more or less directly taken the text "By their fruits you shall know them" for their motto. How, it is asked, can that be the true and only Church of

* Cf. Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion.*, ii., 10: "Si aspernatus est illam (naturam humanam) ut terrenam, et ut dicitis stercoribus infertam, cur non ejus simulacrum proinde despexit?"

† Cyril Alex., *præf. Jul.*, vi. 194.

‡ Huxley, *Essays*.

God which fosters so much evil in its members, which is so complaisant to the worst excesses of luxury, dishonesty, and untruthfulness? In other words, how can God tolerate evil in an organization which, as it is supposed, has been founded and is still governed by Himself? But since God made and rules the world, no less than the Church, the same question can be asked concerning the world with equal effect; and there is no less difficulty in admitting God to be the Creator and Ruler of the world than in accepting Him as the Founder and Head of the Church. The analogical argument of Butler is, in fact, reversible, and may be made to tell as strongly against the Divine creation of the world as, on the Deistic hypothesis, it tells in favour of the Gospel.

But whatever may be thought of the prominence of the question in past times, there can be no doubt that in our own day it has an actuality it has never possessed before. The universal right of individuals to their own opinions on every conceivable subject seems to have become an established principle among us; and the popular scepticism, based for the most part on entire lack of information, spares nothing but the one dogma of the supreme desirableness of material comfort. And in spite of all endeavours to the contrary, the sum of human suffering, bodily and mental, shows no sign of diminution; it would seem, indeed, to be on the whole increasing, with the increasing complexity of the conditions of modern life.

Thus questions which were once thought to be little more than academic have come to press with extraordinary weight on the intelligence of the "man in the street," whose misfortune it is to be as unable to ignore the problems that are in the air around him as he is intellectually ill-equipped for their solution. Consequently, he either remains in a state of mental suspense, or else is attracted by the apparent simplicity of one or other of the crude doctrines which claim his attention; and whether he labels himself Agnostic, Rationalist, or Atheist, or subsides into sheer indifference, he inevitably loses all consciousness that he has such a thing as a soul or any prospect after death. Opinion outside the pale of practical Catholicism

would seem to express itself increasingly in the dilemma, "Si Deus est, unde mala—bona vero unde, si non est?"* Moreover, attention is no longer limited for the individual, once he has left childhood behind, to his own troubles and those of his immediate neighbours, however absorbing they may be at times : the news of the world reaches him fresh every day, and he is a daily spectator of the vast tragedy that is perpetually enacted in it. Pippa may sing, "God's in His heaven," because, in her inexperienced view, "all's right with the world"; but of those who see how much is wrong with it there are many to whom her assertion seems more than doubtful. These, it must be observed, are by no means always of the stamp of Tom Paine or Ingersoll; they are frequently persons of a high degree of culture, and express themselves in terms calculated as little as possible to shock Christian sensibilities. A recent example will be found in an article on the "Problem of Evil," contributed to the *Hibbert Journal* of July, 1904, by Mr. St. George Stock. He says, "Why is there a problem of evil; why not also a problem of good? Evil is at least as much a fact as good—there is no more mystery about one than the other. Problem and mystery are entirely made for us by our theology, which postulates that the cause of all things is the will of a single almighty, all-wise, and all-loving being. On this supposition the problem is already solved—there is no evil; all things are very good. To the Christian Theist the world must necessarily be not only the best conceivable under the circumstances, but the best of all conceivable worlds." This conclusion, though maintained with great consistency, as Mr. Stock thinks, by the so-called Christian Scientists, is quite irreconcilable, in his opinion, with the facts. Evil is as real as good; and the world is neither wholly good nor wholly evil. In the earlier Jewish theology, as in the Homeric poems, evil and good alike are ascribed to a single Divine source; but the later Jews, and the Christian Church after them, were compelled by the advance of their religious consciousness to admit the necessity of distinguishing between the authors

* Boethius, *de Consol.* i., 4.

of good and evil : " We cannot go on repeating the simple formula of their earlier faith "; " either God is not good, or not the cause of all." But we can only worship a being who is perfectly good. If we insist on representing the God of Nature as a Person, " we reduce that person to our standard of behaviour, and by that standard he must be condemned." Thus Mr. Stock concludes that the " God of Nature " is not the " God of the heart." This latter is the " Spirit of Good," and may possibly be a mere abstraction, without objective reality, but is all that is left us to worship—a *de jure*, but doubtfully *de facto* God.

Now, though the polemical value of such a summary treatment of the subject as this may perhaps be fitly represented by zero, it nevertheless furnishes a very fair example of the mental attitude of a vast number of persons at the present moment in the non-Catholic world ; an attitude which it would even seem somewhat bold to declare to be without reactionary influence within the Catholic Church itself, and which differs as widely as possible from the frivolity or the blatant self-assertiveness of the aggressive unbelief of times past. There is surely something exceedingly pathetic in the spectacle of a cultivated and sincere mind attempting to satisfy its own cravings with the conception of a Spirit of Good, in whose actual existence it cannot itself believe.

It may, I think, be said truly, and without any disrespect to theology, that theologians have hitherto provided no satisfactory solution of the problem. They have not, indeed, passed it by without notice : it would hardly have been possible to do so ; and the answers they have given were undoubtedly sufficient for the purpose immediately in their view. But their object was, generally speaking, of a metaphysical rather than a moral character ; they have sought to give a metaphysical explanation of the co-existence with the infinite and omnipotent Creator of something so essentially opposed to His nature as evil, rather than a justification of His moral purpose in creating an order of things in which He foresaw that evil was certain to arise.

St. Thomas quotes the well-known passage from St.

Augustine,* to the effect that God has permitted evil in order to bring good out of it, as an answer to the objection that God, if He exists, cannot co-exist with evil. But he makes no attempt to justify this *modus operandi*; which, when stated without qualification, certainly appears to contravene the elementary moral principle which forbids us to do evil that good may come, since it may be contended that the permission of evil by Omnipotence needs justification no less than its causation would. There is, however, as I shall hope to show presently, a sense in which this account of the matter amounts to a true moral justification. Again, St. Thomas, borrowing from St. Augustine, points to the existence of evil as in some sense actually proving the existence of God.† Evil is a negation, not a positive quantity, being merely the privation of good; and this implies an order of things which is good, and of which God must be held to be the author, and without which evil could not exist, since without it there would be no good for creatures to be deprived of. Evil, again, is ascribed by St. Thomas to second causes: action is caused by God, but its evil quality is contributed by the free will of man—as a limping walk is due, in so far as it is motion, to motive power; but in so far as it is limping, to some physical defect. In another place, the question as to the fore-knowledge of God, and the difficulty of reconciling it with His permission of evil, is clearly stated by St. Augustine. But it is introduced only by way of illustration and as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the argument against original sin; and it is dismissed with St. Paul's reference to the unsearchable judgments of God.‡

* *Summa*, 1, 2, 3. S. Aug. *Ench.*, 27. *Melius enim judicavit de malis bene facere, quam mala nulla esse permittere.*

† *Cf.* de Civ. Dei, 22, 1. *Prævidens quid boni de malo ejus esset facturus. Op. imperf. c. Julianum. Eos quos novit . . . semper arsueros . . . non desinit creare. Sed fecit hoc Deus quomodo sciens bene uti et bonis et malis.*

‡ S. Aug., *Op. imperf., c. Julianum*, i., 48. *Sed indignaris homo piissimus quod parvuli non renati, si moriantur ante propriæ voluntatis arbitrium, propter aliena dicantur peccata damnari, ab eo qui commendat charitatem suam in nobis qui dilexit nos et Filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis illum tradidit, quasi non de illo gravius querantur stulti et indocti similes tui, qui dicunt utquid creat quos impios futuros et damnandos esse præscivit. Quibus si dicatur, O homo, tu quis es qui respondes Deo? Inscrutabilia sunt judicia ejus: irascuntur potius quam mitescunt.*

It is evident that such explanations as the above hold good in a metaphysical sense, and in that sense only. They do not constitute a Theodicy ; they make no attempt to set forth any considerations in virtue of which the almighty Creator, in establishing an order of things in which He foreknew that evil would be present, may be supposed to have acted in accordance with those moral principles which He has imposed on mankind as the guide and test of their conduct.

Later theology has for the most part been content to deal with the question in the same spirit. God has been represented* as having chosen an order of creation in which evil (*i.e.*, sin and consequently temporal suffering, together with the final damnation of the reprobate) would, in point of fact, certainly occur ; and this order having been so chosen, the evil arising from the misuse of free will is inseparable from it ; and though foreseen, cannot, in accordance with the fixed laws which govern it, be prevented even by God Himself. But the Divine choice of such an order would seem not to have been the subject of special attention ; no reason has been suggested which may be held in any degree to account for it ; and devout and reverent minds have mainly been content to abstain from attempting to penetrate the obscurity in which it is enveloped.

But one recent attempt to shed light on the subject differs essentially from its predecessors in venturing to go behind the existing order of creation, and to ask why an order involving the moral certainty of evil should have been chosen by Almighty God. Fr. Rickaby, S.J., in an article in the *Month* of November, 1898, put forward a remarkable suggestion, the object of which was to provide an answer to this question. The article is fragmentary in character, and its method is merely tentative. But, though it cannot be considered entirely successful, it takes us some way towards what, if not exactly a solution of the problem,

* Cf. Sanseverino, *Philosoph. Christ. Compend.* (theol. naturalis) : "Deus potest utique omnia mala tollere, non vult tamen, ne impediatur bonum universi." *Ibid.*, Administratio universitatis est ut Deus sic res conditas administrat, ut eas agere proprio modo sinat : uti post S. Augustinum inquit S. Bonaventura. And cf. Billot, *De Deo Creante*.

may at least be a tenable hypothesis regarding it. Fr. Rickaby's suggestion is "that Creation without evil is a contradiction in terms ; that evil is a natural and necessary incident of all created good ; that if God chooses to create at all, He must permit evil to be in creation ; and that this natural simultaneity of created good with evil is no more an infringement of Divine omnipotence than is the impossibility of God's creating any triangle, the three angles of which taken together can be equal to anything else than two right angles."

Fr. Rickaby illustrates his position by comparing it with the Greek conception of *ἀνάγκη*, or necessity inherent in self-existent matter ; and while rejecting the Manichean dualism in which that conception necessarily issues, he conceives of another dualism, of God on the one hand and nothingness on the other. This element of nothingness enters into every created being, and means defectibility and consequent proneness to evil : "God cannot create a creature free from this element of nothingness and defectibility, for He cannot create a creature that shall not be finite and limited." Thus moral evil exists of necessity in the human race, though any given individual may be preserved from it by the use of his free will and the assistance of Divine grace.

It will be observed that Fr. Rickaby makes no mention of the goodness of God, but is defending, so to speak, His omnipotence against the limitation of it that might seem to be implied in his theory. But granting, for the sake of argument, that the theory is tenable, and foregoing any criticisms that might be directed against its consistency with itself ; and without considering whether it really does escape that infringement of God's omnipotence, which its author disclaims, we may still ask how, if God could not create good without at the same time "indirectly creating evil," He could, without violating His own perfect benevolence, create at all ? This question Fr. Rickaby does not touch ; and though his idea that evil is a necessary concomitant of good is a step in advance of his predecessors, he leaves the problem practically as he found it.

Now I would submit that, in view of the considerations

here adduced, there is a real need that the account which theologians have given of the origin of evil should be re-stated, and if need be, expanded and amplified, in such a way as to meet the difficulties which to a great variety of minds are presented by the present state of the question. Though there can be no doubt that the Faith must always prevail in the future, as it has in the past, against any hindrances that human reason may oppose to it, it seems nevertheless that the way to faith would be opened to many to whom, humanly speaking, it is now closed, if the apparent inconsistency of a world of sin and suffering with the idea of an all-good, all-wise, and all-powerful Creator could be, if not removed, at least rendered less confounding than it is felt to be by many.

I venture now to suggest a line of thought in the direction of which it seems at least possible that the needed solution may be found. It has never, so far as I know, been explicitly drawn out, but it is, I think, necessarily implied in the more or less fragmentary conclusions which are generally regarded as authoritative: and it is on this ground that I would base any claim it may have to consideration.

The problem is to give some account of the considerations which may hypothetically be supposed to have moved Almighty God to permit in His creation the existence of evil in any form, being, as He is, entirely free from every sort of external constraint, and acting on motives of absolute goodness and benevolence. The answer to this problem, in so far as it may be answered, will also indicate the solution of the twin question, how it can be conceived as possible that evil and good should co-exist in the world.

It must be observed that there is no question of the reason why God chose to create at all. It is quite certain that He was under no necessity of creating, either immanent or *ab extra*; it is certain also that He is Himself absolutely distinct from all that He has created, though creation is wholly dependent upon the continual exertion of Divine power, and is penetrated throughout by the Divine presence. These two points being conceded (however wide and interesting a field they may offer for philosophical speculation), the purpose of our enquiry is to

discover—given God's will to create, and His absolute and unlimited sovereignty over His creation—on what hypothesis His absolute goodness may be reconciled with His permission of the existence of evil of any kind.

Evil, it is to be noted, is of three kinds: physical, such as pain, disease and death; mental, such as terror, anxiety and remorse; and moral evil, or sin, which may be held to account for, and, in a manner, include the other two. It is evident that to account for the existence of any one of these kinds of evil would be to account for that of all of them, since the idea of magnitude does not enter into the question in the case of an Almighty and all-wise Creator, as it inevitably must in the case of creatures whose power and foresight are limited; and, on the other hand, a theory which will not account for the extremest form of evil must equally fail to account for the most trivial. It is as difficult, that is to say, or as easy, to explain the permission of a single attack of toothache by an Almighty, all-benevolent Creator as to explain His permission of the eternal damnation of a celestial hierarchy. Man cannot eliminate evil from his environment; his aim at best can only be to make good preponderate within the sphere of his influence: but with God all things are possible, and a creation entirely without evil presents no more inherent difficulty to omnipotence than one in which only the slightest evils are present.*

Since God, then, in permitting evil must have done so with a good or benevolent purpose, it follows that (as St. Augustine has remarked) evil must be a means to a good end—"melius judicavit de malis bene facere, quam mala nulla esse permittere." What this end may be is not so clear; St. Augustine, however, holds that it is the manifestation of the evil of pride, and the benefits of Divine grace.† That this is true is beyond doubt; how far it may be taken as a sufficient account of the matter we may see later.

* Cf. S. Aug., *Civ. Dei*, 14-27. Quis audeat credere aut dicere ut neque angelus neque homo caderet, in Dei potestate non fuisse?

† S. Aug., *L.c.* Maluit . . . et quantum mali superbia, et quantum boni sua gratia valeret ostendere.

Now we cannot suppose that the Creator, in the exercise of His freedom of design, can have chosen any means to a good end which was not the best means possible; we are therefore justified in concluding that the permission of evil was the best means of producing a certain kind of good, since otherwise God would not have chosen to permit evil for that purpose (and as we have seen, we are bound to assume that He could have had no other purpose than to produce good of some kind). We may therefore go a step further, and still without exceeding the limits of authority, conclude that evil is necessary, not indeed in the sense of being inherent in the very conception of created existence, but as the best means of effecting some part, at least, of the all-good and all-wise purpose of the Creator.

Thus far we are led by undeniable authority. We have still to inquire what the particular good may be to which the existence of evil is conducive, and in what way evil can be specially adapted to its production.

It is evident that St. Augustine's description of the good end which evil is made to subserve is open to the question: Why this end, however good in relation to the condition of mingled good and evil now prevailing in the world, should ever have formed part of the Divine purpose? It can hardly be considered good in itself; and we cannot suppose that God can have directly intended to bring about any end which is not positively and in itself good: the sin of pride, moreover, must be permitted to exist before its evil can be demonstrated, and it is this existence of pride, among other forms of evil, that our inquiry is concerned with.

Now the general purpose of creation is not doubtful. While it is possible that the Creator may have had in view ends which are beyond the conception of human faculties in their present condition, it is certain that the one great end of creation, to which all others must be subordinate, is the pleasure and glory of God: "*Universa propter seipsum operatus est Dominus.*"*

But since all good exists pre-eminently and archetypally in God, creation can only be pleasing to him in so far as it

* Prov. xxvi.

glorifies Him by reflecting Himself. It cannot, indeed, reflect Him adequately, since God is infinite ; but it must do so perfectly, regard being had to the limitations of finite existence.*

But this being so, and prescinding from the actual presence of evil in creation, we are justified in concluding that each of the parts of the universal creation, and creation as a whole, in some way represents, or contributes to, the representation in time and space of the Divine goodness and perfection.

Consequently, any feature of creation that is essential to it must be supposed to have its counterpart pre-eminently and archetypally in the infinite being of God.

Now, running through the whole of material existence, there would appear to be an element of mutual opposition. The mechanical principles upon which the world and its contents are constructed rest upon a balance of mutually opposing forces—from the age-long quiescence of geological strata to the stability of a Gothic arch. In the animal and vegetable kingdoms the process of life goes forward by a perpetual succession of selection and rejection, decay and renewal, birth and death. Further, among the forms of organic life there is a perpetual competition for sustenance : the so-called struggle for existence, whether it eventuates or not in the “survival of the fittest,” is an unquestionable fact. And this element of opposition reaches its full proportions in the moral sphere, when the free will of rational creatures—angels or men—has to choose between good and evil, whether actual or potential. The song of praise which perpetually goes up from the universe is a harmony, not a unison : it is from action and re-action, opposition and resistance, “one against another,”† that the balanced order of the whole proceeds. It was upon such a world of incessant conflict that God passed His judgment of commendation : “All things were very good.”

But when we proceed to consider the world as conditioned

* *Summa Theol.* I., lxxv., 2 : “Totum universum cum singulis suis partibus ordinatur in Deum, sicut in finem ; in quantum in eis per quamdam imitationem divina bonitas representatur ad gloriam Dei.”

† *Ecclesiasticus* xlii.

by sin and the evil which it has brought in its train, we pass indeed to a totally different kind of evil: it is no longer merely *malum naturæ* that confronts us (which is only relatively evil at all) but *malum culpæ* and *malum pænæ*—the evil which consists in actual estrangement of the spiritual nature from God, and the manifold suffering which that evil has entailed as a penalty.

Nevertheless, the harmony is not destroyed: still "omnia co-operantur in bonum": the evil which is in the world provides a sphere in which the works of God may be manifested.* In the world, as we know it, the condition of strife and opposition which sin has entailed, and without which we can scarcely conceive this world as existing, produces in mankind the highest and most perfect types of character. Both nations and individuals, when the necessity for conflict, moral or physical, is removed, tend to sink into a condition of effeminacy. War, though admittedly in itself one of the greatest of evils, produces a type of physical and moral excellence which so far as we know can be produced by no other means. The commercial activity which competition engenders, in spite of all the evils it causes, unquestionably contributes to a high development of intelligence; and the life of sacrifice and constant resistance to the pressure of temptation, and of patient and courageous endurance of suffering, can scarcely be separated from that ideal of supernatural holiness which is the very flower of human excellence. The Platonic ideal of the perfect man† has found its fulfilment only in the Christian Saint.

There is no difficulty, then, in perceiving that from the point of view of the present order and state of creation, evil in all its forms subserves a good purpose. God, in St. Augustine's phrase, brings good out of evil; it serves, as St. Augustine also says, for the reformation of the wicked and the instruction of the good.

Have we, then, found a sufficient reason for God's permission of evil in the fact that evil does not in the long run obstruct the harmonious working of the order of nature,

* St. John ix.

† Plato, *Rep.* vi.

and even helps towards the formation of the highest type of character in man?

I venture to think not. According to the moral principles known to us (and we have no other standard to go by) the causation or the permission of needless pain and suffering cannot be justified by any consideration whatever, even though a good end may be served by it. But if God could carry out His purpose by creating a perfect race of beings in an absolutely peaceful world, then the evil of the present world is, from the point of view of the Creator, needless. But if we suppose that God could not perfect any members of the human race without the use of evil as a means, we both infringe His omnipotence and impute to Him a course of action at variance with His goodness. For if we say that the eternal salvation of certain persons is an end so good as to justify the temporal suffering at the cost of which it is attained, we are still unable to maintain that it can counter-balance the evil of the eternal damnation of any as a *conditio sine qua non* of the salvation of the rest; and it is hard, if not impossible, to conceive a Creator of perfect goodness choosing to create under such conditions.

A fuller account of the matter is, however, to be found. It is necessary first to remind the reader of the means by which we learn all that we naturally know of God's nature, and by which we are enabled to predicate His attributes of Him. We have no immediate or transcendental knowledge of God: our knowledge of Him is gained by way of inference; and though necessary and, so to speak, instinctive, it is, nevertheless, obtained only by reason and experience.* We know God through creation; and while our thought is conditioned by the limits of material existence, we cannot know Him otherwise. Creation is for us the mind of the Creator, in which we see Him *ἐν αὐτῷ*; and that which we see in creation is that which we can predicate of Him, exception being made of all imperfection and shortcoming.

But in creation we find, as has been seen, an essential element of struggle and mutual opposition, through which

* *Summa*, xii., 12; cf. Rom. i., "Invisibilia ipsius per ea quæ facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur."

alone the order, beauty, and harmony of the whole is attained. Moreover, we find on analysis of the human faculties that man is endowed with what is called the "irascible" faculty, by which (however it may often be misused) he is disposed to struggle against adverse influences, and so attain the external objects which he naturally seeks for his use and welfare, and so also by a reflex process to attain the full development of his own capacities.

Now creation is the reflection or representation under finite conditions of the infinite perfection of God ; and man is in a special manner created to God's image. But if this is the case, then this apparently essential condition of struggle and opposition must in some sort correspond to something eternally immanent in the Divine nature itself ; and that something (we need not for the present purpose seek to identify it precisely with any one of the Divine attributes) can only, it would seem, be manifested in a created sphere by means of the eternal opposition between good and evil. If "the Lord is a man of war,"* He can only exhibit Himself under this aspect in a scene of conflict, such as this world is, and heaven itself has been ;† and a creation in which no evil were possible would be an imperfect manifestation of God, and would, therefore, be less good than one in which evil, at least potentially, exists. But as we have seen, God must necessarily act in the most perfect manner ; consequently the existence of evil (whether potentially, in the fact of free will, or actually, by its misuse) is necessary for the perfection of creation.

It may be objected that, even so, the morality of the Creator is indefensible ; for according to the only moral law with which we are acquainted (and which must itself be of Divine authority, as being the law of that moral order which God has created) God was bound rather to have abstained from creating than to have permitted any evil which He was free to prevent—were it but so much as one single twinge of pain. But this objection has no force if the purpose is remembered for which creation exists. That

* Exod. xv.

† Apoc. xii.

purpose is, as we have seen, the glory of God, through the manifestation in space and time of the created likeness of the Divine nature, and of God as the final cause of all created existence. But this is the one supreme end, no greater or better than which can be conceived or exist. Therefore, if the permission of evil is necessary for the full accomplishment of this end, it must be absolutely right that evil should be permitted to exist.

It will be noticed that there is here a certain affinity with that rigid predestinarianism which found its most thorough-going exponent in Calvin, who certainly emphasised to a greater extent than more orthodox writers the fact that the explanation of evil—in the form in which he especially dealt with it, of the eternal damnation of sinners—is to be sought for in the glory of God, as the supreme end of creation. So far, and in the correlative notion which he brings into prominence, of the absolute and unquestionable sovereignty of God, it is impossible not to sympathise with his system. What is abhorrent to the general sense of mankind is, first, the idea on which Calvinism insists that a portion of mankind is directly created for sin and consequent damnation, and that the unconditional will of God is that they should suffer eternally in hell; secondly, the corollary, that God's glory is directly promoted by their destruction.* The Catholic Church, on the contrary, firmly holds that no soul can be lost except by its own fault, in the true and literal sense, and that God does not and cannot intend directly the existence of any evil whatever.

But God is pleased and glorified, as we have seen, not by the destruction of the wicked person, but by the manifestation of His power to overcome opposition; and what He wills is not primarily the eternal doom of the wicked, but the triumph of the good which they oppose.

But if it is asked why God should not have abstained from creating rational creatures whose defection he foresaw, so that all who had received the gift of existence might eventually share the Divine triumph over evil, it may be answered that so to have abstained from creating those

* See *Institut.*, iii., c. 21-23.

whose rebellion God foresaw, would have been equivalent to conceding the victory to evil—not actual, indeed, but already visualized in the eternal present of God's foreknowledge; God would have, in fact, already yielded up His will to the perverted will of possible creatures, which is inconceivable.

Now if we apply the principle we have arrived at to the three different kinds of evil with which we are acquainted, we shall perceive that it is at least possible to vindicate the goodness of the Creator in permitting them without recourse to the Manichean conception of a necessity inherent in creation and external to the nature of God; and without, on the other hand, pleading the necessary limitation of human faculties as a reason for accepting what to them appears a self-contradiction: a method which, though fully and justly satisfactory to those who already possess the positive certainty of faith, would seem to leave a good deal to be desired when put forward as an answer to enquiries and criticisms from without the fold.

1. There is the *malum naturæ*, or evil inherent in the natural constitution of things, which is only evil in a partial and relative sense; being nothing more than that balance of opposites upon which the natural creation is founded: that perpetual succession of decay and re-integration which we know as the essential condition of organic life of every kind. In this, we have seen, we may find some representation of the Divine nature; and evil in this sense is admitted to be, in relation to the totality of created existence, not evil but good.

2. There is the true evil: that in which evil essentially consists, viz., sin, or direct opposition to God. Philosophically it may be considered as the attempt to impose limitation on the infinite; it is nothing substantial, it has no positive existence: it is a mere negation—and it is only in reference to its share in this mere negativeness that *malum naturæ*, the limitation of created individual existences by one another, can be called evil. Morally, sin is the attempt to force the Divine will into submission to the will of the creature; and since God is absolute goodness, in sin lies the very essence of evil. That God should

be its author is obviously inconceivable; and it is equally obvious that, as we have seen, it can only exist as the contradiction of good. But its possibility (if not its actual existence) is necessarily implied in the creation of free will; and in this creation of free will we may conceive Almighty God to have provided a sphere in which His own nature should be manifested, first, by way of reflection, in the struggle of the free will when choosing between the two contradictory possibilities of good and evil; and secondly, by His own victory over the opposing force of evil through the influence of grace and the providential over-ruling of events to this end.

3. We have the *malum pœnæ*, or the evil which sin has brought by way of punishment; and in this sense, as it is commonly said, evil is once more good in relation to the whole.* In this connection we may conceive of sin and its consequences as constituting together a kind of balanced harmony, comparable in the moral sphere to that which is found in the material; so that sin without suffering would be a monstrosity, like light without shadow; while suffering without sin would argue an impossible Divine malevolence. Thus it is plain that, as we have seen, temporal suffering is "for the reformation of the wicked and the instruction of the good;" it tends to the formation of human character in accordance with the Divine will, and so to the promotion of man's welfare. It is thus, in relation both to the individual and to the whole of creation, a means—and so far as we can see, a necessary means—by which God effects His sublime purpose of self-manifestation through created existence.

With regard to eternal suffering, the case is perhaps not so immediately clear. The question, "*Eos quos novit semper aruros, cur non desinit creare?*" has already been answered. But it is asked, Why should we suppose the suffering of hell to be eternal? Why should the souls whom we regard as lost not be permitted to find relief either in final beatitude, when their debt of suffering has been paid, or else, if that cannot be, in annihilation? Is it consistent with the justice of God to impose an infinite penalty

* Cf. Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*

for a finite transgression? But in either of these supposed cases there would be an end to the manifestation through creation of the essential Divine attitude towards evil. The conflict between good and evil in the free will of rational creatures cannot be eternally dubious; it must end sooner or later in victory or defeat, since the growth of a living organism is in question, and not a mere equilibrium of mechanical forces. There must therefore be eventually a condition of stability—an eternally victorious party in heaven, and an eternally defeated party in hell; the strife may be at an end, but the relation between the mutually opposed forces, which is the sphere of God's self-manifestation, must remain for ever. If an evil life were to lead eventually to heaven, or to end, after running its course, in annihilation, God would, so to speak, have been defeated; the created will would have prevailed against that of the Creator.

The theory of St. Anselm of the infinitude of the debt of sin, and the infinite punishment consequently due to it, may perhaps be interpreted somewhat in the above sense.

Evil then, to sum up, may be understood as being not, indeed, good in itself (since it is essentially nothing but the contradiction of good), but as the necessary condition of the highest good of creation, which is the manifestation, by means of created life, of the Divine nature; that nature being, as Bishop Butler has remarked,* not "simply and absolutely benevolent," but including *eminenter* the perfection of those qualities which we know as strength, justice, fortitude, and the like.

It might be shown, if space permitted, that this view of the matter has an important bearing on many of the darker and more perplexing social problems of the present day.

But it is at once evident that the view here suggested of the relation of created existence to the Creator falls into line in a remarkable way with the great facts of the Incarnation and Atonement. It would seem to be in the highest degree fitting, and, so to speak, natural, that God should not merely manifest Himself in creation by a providential

**Analogy*, ch. iii.

over-ruling of events to the final triumph of good over evil, but that He should Himself enter in space and time into the conflict, and give to mankind, in terms of human nature, in the likeness of sinful flesh and through the sacrifice of the Cross, a glimpse of that which He eternally is, as the Uncreated and Perfect Good.

It is, after all, in the presence of the Divine Victim abiding perpetually on the altars of the Church that the mystery of evil becomes tolerable, even if not entirely clear; and it is there that humble souls have always found a solution of all perplexities which, though they may not have cared or dared to submit it to the scrutiny of the reason, has brought them peace.

The present writer does not pretend that the considerations here adduced are exhaustive of the subject, or that exception may not be taken to his presentment of them. His purpose will be fully served if what has been said here should in any degree contribute to the treatment of the question by a keener intelligence and an abler pen.

A. B. SHARPE.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

The attention of the Editor has been drawn to a sentence which appeared in the October number of the DUBLIN REVIEW (p. 275): "Not content with the liberty accorded to him by modern Catholic exegesis, of regarding the first eleven chapters as merely representing certain ideas." This sentence, which is rightly pointed out as somewhat misleading, was allowed to pass in the supposition that it conveyed nothing more than that Catholic exegesis recognized that, in the earlier chapters of Genesis, there is much which need not be accepted in a strictly literal interpretation. It was not the intention either of the Review or of the writer to convey for a moment the impression that modern Catholic exegesis would permit the great doctrinal truths and facts contained in the earlier chapters of Genesis to be regarded as unreal or merely symbolical.—EDITOR, *D.R.*

Roman Decrees.

The Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide.

Honorary Canons in English Chapters.

DECRETUM.

Archiepiscopus Westmonasteriensis ac reliqui Episcopi in Anglia ab hoc S. Consilio Christiano Nomini Propagando facultatem expostulaverunt ut, si quando contingat aliquem e canonicis titularibus respectivi Capituli Cathedralis propter infirmitatem vel devexam aetatem velle se a canonicatu muneribusque adnexis abdicare, possit idem renuntiarius canonicus tanquam honorarius in eodem Capitulo nominari, ita ut, retentis canonicalibus insignibus, titulo atque honore, caetera omnia officia atque jura dimittat.

Porro etsi nemini propter infirmitatem vel senium necessaria ratio per se obveniat dimittendi canonicatum, quod uti perpetuum beneficium habendum est, tamen si quis e canonicis Capitulorum Cathedralium in Anglia propter praedictas causas libere ac sponte, accedente Episcopi consensu, e canonicatu se abdicare velit, concedendam censet Sacra haec Congregatio respectivis Episcopis facultatem eundem cooptandi, audito antea Capitulo, inter honorarios Canonicos, qui tamen nunquam habeantur ultra tres.

Hanc autem sententiam SSmo. D. N. Pio PP. X. ab infra-scripto ejusdem S. Congregationis Secretario relatam in Audientia diei 23 elapsi Junii Sanctitas Sua benigne probavit, ratamque habuit, ac praesens ea super re Decretum edi jussit.

Datum Romae, ex Aed. S. C. de P. F., die 7 Julii, 1904.

L † S.

FR. H. M. CARD. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secretarius*.

The Sacred Congregation of Rites.

(1) The following Decree settles a curious point as to the precedence of Bishops consecrated on the same day :

IAREN.

In praecedentia inter Episcopos statuenda ratio haberi debet electionis seu promotionis ad Episcopatum in Consistorio factae.

Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi ea quae sequuntur pro opportuna declaratione proposita fuerunt ; nimirum :

Rmus. Dionysius Dougherty Episcopus Neo-Segubiae in Insulis Philippinis consecratus fuit Romae in ecclesia S. Joannis et Pauli die 14 Julii 1903, et ceremonia seu ritus incepit hora septima antemeridiana.

Rmus. D. Fredericus Rooker, Episcopus Iarensis in eisdem Insulis, consecratus fuit eadem die 14 Julii 1903, Romae in Sacello Pont. Collegii Americae septentrionalis : ritus vero consecrationis incepit hora octava antemeridiana.

Ambo publicati fuerunt in eodem Consistorio, die 22 Junii 1903 ; sed nomen Rmi. Rooker fuit proclamatum prius.

Quaritur : quisnam ex hisce duobus praelatis alteri praecedere debet ?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisita sententia Commissionis Liturgicae, respondendum censuit :

Praecedat ille qui prius in Consistorio propositus et confirmatus fuit, juxta decreta N. 270 Segobricen., 21 Martii 1609 et N. 1606 Terulen. 20 Novembris 1677.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 15 Aprilis 1904.

L ✠ S. SERAPHINUS CARD. CRETONI, *Praefectus.*

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secretarius.*

(2) DUBIUM.

**Consuetudo non adhibendi conopeum ante Tabernaculum SSmi.
Sacramenti servari nequit.**

Ab hodierno caeremoniarum magistro cujusdam ecclesiae cathedralis expostulatum fuit : an servari possit consuetudo non adhibendi conopeum quo tegi debet tabernaculum, ubi asservatur SSnum. Eucharistiae Sacramentum ?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti

Secretarii, audito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, respondendum censuit :

Negative, et servantur Rituale Romanum et Decreta.

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 1 Julii 1904.

A. CARD. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praef.*

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secretarius.*

(3) RHEMEN.

De modo genuflectendi a canonicis, celebrante et ceroferariis in transitu ante altare post consecrationem SS. Specierum.

Hodiernus Canonicus caeremoniarum magister ecclesiae metropolitanae Rhemensis, de consensu sui Rmi. Archiepiscopi, sequentia dubia Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi, pro opportuna declaratione, humillime proposuit, videlicet :

I. Utrum Canonici, ante altare in quo Missa celebratur transeuntes a consecratione usque ad communionem, genuflexionem duplicem nempe utroque genu efficere debeant, an genu dexterum tantum usque in terram flectere ?

II. Utrum idem modus genuflectendi servari etiam debeat a quolibet sacerdote qui, sive ad altare procedit Missam celebraturus, sive redit celebrata Missa, transit ante aliud altare in quo tunc Missa celebratur et est inter consecrationem et communionem ?

III. Utrum eodem modo genuflectere debeant ceroferarii qui ab altari discedunt post consecrationem, cum intorticia in sacrestiam referunt et cum statim ad loca sua prope altare redeunt ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae omnibusque sedulo perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. *Negative* ad primam partem, *affirmative* ad secundam.

Ad II. *Negative* et servantur Rubricae *De ritu celebrandi*, tit. II, n. 1.

Ad III. Genuflectant unico genu.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 20 Maii 1904.

L ✠ S.

S. CARD. CRETONI, *Praefectus.*

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secretarius.*

The Sacred Congregation of Indulgences.

In the two following Decrees Indulgences are granted to those making a Novena in honour of St. Francis Xavier, and to those reciting the *Tota Pulchra* in honour of our Immaculate Mother :

EX S. CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM ET
SS. RELIQUIARUM.

URBIS ET ORBIS.

Indulgentiae largiuntur explentibus pium exercitium "Novendialium a gratia" in honorem S. Francisci Xaverii.

Abhinc tribus fere saeculis Christifideles ad S. Franciscum Xaverium Indiarum Apostolum praedicatione et miraculis insignem confidenter confugere consueverunt devoto praesertim exercitio, quod propter magnam in praesentibus vitae necessitatibus compertam efficaciam *Novendiales a gratia* appellare non dubitarunt. Ad quod pium exercitium magis fovendum Summi Pontifices indulgentias sive partiales sive plenarias iam pridem elargiti sunt, quae tamen ad quasdam regiones et praecipue ad ecclesias Societatis Jesu coarctabantur. Nunc vero, quo uberiores ex his novendialibus precibus pietatis fructus colligantur, SSmo. Dno. Nostro Pio PP. X. preces sunt exhibitae, ut easdem, ubivis peractas, sacris indulgentiis ditare dignaretur. Has vero preces idem SSmus., in Audientia habita die 23 Martii 1904 ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, peramanter excipiens, universis Christifidelibus memoratum exercitium quovis anni tempore sive publice sive privatim peragentibus, sequentes indulgentias, defunctis quoque applicabiles, bis tantum in anno acquirendas, concedere dignatus est; nempe: (1) tercentum dierum quovis earundem novendialium die lucranda ab iis, qui vel subsequentem orationem vel, si illam ad manum non habeant, quinquies *Pater, Ave* et *Gloria Patri*, etc., corde saltem contrito ac devote recitaverint; (2) plenariam autem iis, qui post hujusmodi pium expletum exercitium infra octo dies confessi ac S. Synaxi refecti, ad mentem Sanctitatis Suae pie oraverint.

ORATIO QUOLIBET NOVENDIALIUM DIE RECITANDA.

"O valde amabilis et charitate plene, Sancte Francisce Xaveri, tecum Majestatem Divinam reverenter adoro; et quoniam summopere gaudeo de singularibus gratiae donis, quae Ipsa tibi contulit in hac vita, et gloriae post mortem, Ei maximas ago gratias, teque toto cordis affectu deprecor, ut efficaci tua intercessionem praecipuam mihi gratiam velis obtinere sanctam vitam agendi sancteque moriendi. Insuper te rogo, ut mihi impetres (*hic exprimat gratia sive spiritualis sive temporalis imploranda*). Si vero id, quod a te suppliciter peto, ad Dei

gloriam et ad majus bonum animae meae minime confert, tu, quaeso, mihi impetres quod utrique est utilius. Amen. *Pater, Ave et Gloria Patri*, etc.”

Praesenti in perpetuum valituro. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congregationis, die 23 Martii 1904.

L † S.

A. CARD. TRIPEPI, *Praefectus*.

Pro Secretario,

I. M. Can. COSELLI, *Substitutus*.

URBIS ET ORBIS.

Indulgentiae conceduntur recitantibus invocationem “*Tota pulchra*” in honorem B. Mariae V. Immaculatae.

Ex quo Immaculati Beatae Mariae Virginis Conceptus a f. r. Pio IX. dogmatica definitio solemniter proclamata fuit, ardens efferbuit in Christifidelibus studium prosequendi singularibus pietatis argumentis Beatissimam Virginem absque originali labe conceptam. Ad id vero studium hoc anno vertente, qui quinquagesimus advenit ab illa solempni definitione, impensius augendum, utque tam auspicatissimi Jubilaei perennis aliqua extet memoria, enixae plurium Sacrorum Antistitum, Religiosorum Ordinum Moderatorum, necnon Christifidelium postulationes SSmo. Dno. Nostro Pio PP. X. delatae sunt, ut sacro indulgentiarum thesauro ditare dignaretur infrascriptas invocationes, quae apud christianum populum in honorem ejusdem Immaculatae Virginis iam frequentatissimae evaserunt, videlicet :

Ÿ. *Tota pulchra es, Maria.*

℣. *Tota pulchra es, Maria.*

Ÿ. *Et macula originalis non est in Te.*

℣. *Et macula originalis non est in Te.*

Ÿ. *Tu gloria Jerusalem.*

℣. *Tu laetitia Israel.*

Ÿ. *Tu honorificentia populi nostri.*

℣. *Tu advocata peccatorum.*

Ÿ. *O Maria.*

℣. *O Maria.*

Ÿ. *Virgo prudentissima.*

℣. *Mater clementissima.*

Ÿ. *Ora pro nobis.*

℣. *Intercede pro nobis ad Dominum Jesum Christum.*

Ÿ. *In conceptione tua, Virgo, immaculata fuisti.*

℣. *Ora pro nobis Patrem, cujus Filium peperisti.*

ORATIO.

Deus, qui per Immaculatam Virginis Conceptionem dignum Filio tuo habitaculum praeparasti : quaesumus ; ut qui ex morte ejusdem Filii tui praevisa eam ab omni labe praeservasti, nos quoque mundos ejus intercessionem ad te pervenire concedas. Per eundem, etc.

Porro Sanctitas Sua, quae maxime in votis habet, ut erga Deiparam honor et pietas apud omnes succrescant, hujusmodi postulationibus libentissime annuens, in Audientia habita die 23 Martii 1904 ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, benigne concessit universis Christifidelibus : (i) Indulgentiam tercentum dierum, semel in die acquirendam, supra relatas invocationes corde saltem contrito ac devote recitantibus : (ii) Plenariam ab iisdem lucranda diebus festis Immaculae Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Purificationis, Annuntiationis, et Assumptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis, si memoratis diebus easdem preces devote recitaverint, simulque sacramentali confessione rite expiati sacraque Synaxi refecti, aliquam ecclesiam vel publicum sacellum adiverint, ibique ad ejusdem Sanctitatis Suae mentem pias ad Deum preces effuderint. Quas indulgentias idem Sanctissimus defunctis quoque applicabiles declaravit. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis, die 23 Martii 1904.

L ✕ S.

A. CARD. TRIPEPI, *Praefectus*.

Pro Secretario,

I. M. Can. COSELLI, *Substitutus*.

Science Notices.

The Cambridge Meeting of the British Association—The Presidential Address.—The Cambridge meeting of the British Association in August last may perhaps be considered as one of the most satisfactory meetings of recent years. A meeting in one of the great Universities usually attracts a large attendance. This was so on the recent occasion, the attendance reaching the exceptionally large number of 2,783—the largest since the meeting in Liverpool in 1896; in fact, in the history of the Association there have been only four gatherings with a higher record of attendance.

The number of foreign members who came to Cambridge was also unusually large, being no less than 121. Doubtless it was the opportunity of inspecting the famous Cavendish Laboratory which attracted the galaxy of distinguished foreigners.

Novelty being the cry of the age, even such austere associations as the British Association have come to recognise its use in attracting visitors. A commendable innovation of this meeting were the discussions on important scientific subjects, and the introduction of the popular afternoon lectures specially appealed to the large number who now attend British Association meetings for the sake of a pleasurable excursion with a little gleaning of knowledge.

Amongst the excellently organised local arrangements was the exhibition of scientific models and instruments in the Cavendish Laboratories. A very interesting exhibit was the plastic model of the general cubic surface with its twenty-seven lines drawn on it. Amongst the new instruments exhibited which attracted attention was the microbarograph, invented by

Dr. W. H. Shaw and Mr. W. H. Dines, for measuring and recording small and rapid variations of atmospheric pressure.

The text of Mr. Balfour's presidential reflections on the new theory of matter has been made so well known that it is not necessary to give an abstract in these notices. Moreover, a lengthy discussion of Mr. Balfour's philosophy would be out of place in pages allotted to fact rather than speculation. Some will admit that Mr. Balfour, in describing how the scientist, in his new theory of matter, has fined it down to what is imponderable, has presented a very graphic picture of the modern physicist standing on the border-line of some newer knowledge concerning which it may be asked: How will his future discoveries be proven? But others may say: Is it wise to attempt to fix any boundary-line where the physicist now is in his assumptions? Does nature display sharp lines of demarcation? Are not her ways gradations? May we not in mapping out too arbitrarily parts of our knowledge be hiding the connections?

Regarding the President's statement that our knowledge in the past has been based on "illusion," may perhaps fitly be quoted the remarks made in *Nature* (1871, vol. lxx., p. 398): "With regard to the new views of the constitution of matter, it seems unnecessary to take quite so serious a view as was expressed by the President of the Association. The new view is in no way contrary to older theories of the atomic and molecular theories of matter, but is an extension and explanation of these, and in the hands of Professor J. J. Thompson has made, at any rate to physicists, a simplification and rational view of these without introducing the question of physical reality."

That the British Association intends to continue the enterprising policy which has marked its recent meetings is apparent in the resolve to hold next year's meeting in South Africa. A new feature of the 1905 meeting is that it will be held in two places, the first half at Cape Town, the second at Johannesburg. There are also to be official visits to Natal and the Orange River Colony.

Radio-activity.—Perhaps the most important discussion at the Cambridge meeting was the one on Radium. In such a discussion disagreement is more useful than unanimity. The general unanimity on the Radio-activity discussion perhaps showed that as yet comparatively little advance has been made

in what is perhaps the most fascinating discovery of the age. Two authorities, however, were found to disagree—Professor J. J. Thomson and Professor Geitel. The point at variance was whether the radio-active effects observable in many bodies are due to the radio-activity of the bodies themselves or to the presence of radium in their composition. Professor J. J. Thomson thinks that all matter may be more or less radio-active. His work in the Cavendish Laboratory has led him to think that the metals—lead, tin, iron, platinum, and zinc—were distinctly in themselves radio-active. The test of their radio-activity was their ability to ionize a gas from which they were separated by a screen not penetrable by ordinary material that is to render the gas electrically conductive. In making these tests it was a very delicate matter to eliminate sources of error, and the experimenter admits that the almost ubiquitous presence of radium is a difficulty in such a test. He states that he has even found radium in flour. The smallest fraction of the substance produces very much greater electrical conductivity than was exhibited by the metals under examination. Then the electrical conductivity might be produced by secondary emanations or by the self-ionization of the gas. But, in spite of possible confusion, Professor Thomson concludes that metals give out a radiation peculiar to themselves. The radiation, he thinks, is similar in kind, though not in degree, to the radiations given out by such metals as radium and polonium, and is not, to his mind, to be explained away by imagining the presence of impurities in the metals or by the effect of radium emanations caused directly or indirectly by the presence of radium in their neighbourhood.

Professor Geitel, however, whose important work on the subject has placed him almost on the level of the discoverers of radium, steadfastly declines to accept the theory of Professor Thomson. The ubiquity of radium and probably of other radio-active substances, to his mind, is sufficient to account for an apparent radio-activity of all substances.

An important feature of this discussion was the conversion of Lord Kelvin to the disintegration of the atom theory. Only a year ago he gave expression to the opinion that there was no proof that the radiations of radium were produced by the breaking up of its atoms; a more likely explanation seeming to be that the surface molecules of radium were sensitive to ether vibrations and converted them into thermo-electric energy.

Now, though he still thinks that the surface atoms may be more active centres of disintegration than the inner atoms, he holds out no longer against the view that in the disintegration of the atoms is to be found the explanation of the radium rays.

Professor Oliver Lodge considers that the admission of the disintegration theory supports the view that all bodies are more or less radio-active. If we have faith in the electric theory of matter, we must believe that all matter is in a state of transition. In it are the seeds of decay, and radio-activity is the symptom of decay.

The Measurement of Electric Waves.—One of the most important papers dealing with applied science was undoubtedly the one given by Professor Flemming on a new appliance for measuring the length of the waves used in wireless telegraphy. It consists of a spiral wire wound round a core of ebonite, and connected through electric condensers and inductances with the aerial of a wireless telegraphy station. Waves coming from the aerial travel along the spiral wire and rebound from an adjustable point in it, neutralising on their return the oncoming waves. Thus are established what are known as nodes, or stationary waves.

The adjustable point is a metal saddle connected with the earth. To measure the electric waves this metal saddle is slid down until a node is found to be half way between the saddle and the wire, where the electric wave enters the coil of wire. Most ingenious is the method of discovering the node, the indication being a vacuum tube containing the newly-discovered gas, neon. This tube is held close to the spiral. The gas in the tube will glow at points where the induced electric force is greatest along the spiral, and thus the node can be found. The finding of the node makes the wave-length known, for the distance from saddle to point of entry is one wave-length of the stationary wave-length on the helix. From the constants of the helix the velocity of the wave along it and the frequency of the oscillating circuit is calculated.

The Rewards of Invention.—Mr. Charles Parsons, in his address to the engineering section on inventions, certainly made out that the lot of the inventor is not a happy one, for his

pecuniary rewards are usually inadequate to recompense him for conferring inestimable benefits on mankind. He pointed out that invention is generally the work of many minds, each one successively improving the scheme of the other till, by natural selection, the best way of attaining the end survives. As an example of the evolution of invention, Mr. Parsons quotes the internal combustion engine. This may be traced back to the cannon. In 1680 Huggins, and ten years later Papin, sought to use gunpowder as a source of power by exploding it in a large vessel with escape valves, a mistake due to ignorance of the thermo-dynamic laws, which would have taught them that the best results would be obtained by exploding under pressure. A hundred years later Street made an abortive effort to use the vapour of turpentine as an explosive mixture, and Brown, a generation after that, tried Huggins's residual vacuum method without success. In 1833 Wright produced a fairly good gas engine, but it was soon improved upon by Barnett, Bensanti, and Matencci, who each contributed something, until Lenoir, in 1866, made the first really practicable engine.

Doubtless, as Mr. Parsons' address suggests, it is the combination of many minds needed for the fittest invention that is the cause of the absence of great reward to any single individual, except in rare cases where inventors have met with strokes of luck. But such so-called lucky strokes are generally found to have been caused by temporary exaggeration in the public mind of the immediate pecuniary value of a scientific application. As an example of this may be mentioned the beginnings of the electrical industry some twenty years ago, when inventors were paid large sums for the patent rights of varieties of electric lamps destined not to survive. Thus even inventors may have their palmy days!

In the course of his address the President mentioned two inventions, the undertaking of which would be of great service to mankind, but the practical rewards of which to the inventor would be so small as to hardly warrant his efforts. One of these is the problem of aerial navigation, which Mr. Parsons thinks can be successfully solved by an organised and adequately trained body of engineers and the expenditure of large sums of money; and the other is the exploration of the lower depths of the earth. With regard to the latter, Mr. Parsons quoted examples illustrative of the expenditure of time and money required for deep borings. The deepest borings and shafts at

present were little over a mile. The time taken in boring a shaft two miles in depth would be ten years; its cost some £500,000; a shaft four miles in depth would take twenty-five years, and would cost more than £1,100,000; one twelve miles in depth would take eighty-five years, and would absorb £5,000,000.

As regards the former—aërial navigation—it may be questioned whether the President made a happy choice when he classed it with deep earth-boring. Apart from even the usefulness of a truly navigable aërial machine, the solution of the problem has a fascination for the mind of man not at present equalled by deep earth-boring. Not only are societies for the study established in nearly every country of importance, but individuals of scientific distinction, with no pecuniary aim in view, are applying themselves to the investigation with as great a zeal as if large fortunes were within their grasp. Organisation of labour is no doubt needed in this research, but efforts are being made by international bodies to secure more systematic research, and not by any one group of engineers, but by the conjoint efforts of various nationalities. Possibly a marked advance towards the solution of the problem is nearer than the President of the Engineering Section of the British Association has anticipated.

Notes on Travel and Exploration.

The Lower Congo.—The controversy as to the government of the Congo State has at least procured us some interesting details of the conditions prevailing in its territories from the correspondents sent out to report on its proceedings. Almost immediately inside the entrance of the great river, on a strip of sand bordering one of its inlets, is the little town of Banana, built in ornamental fashion with flower gardens, palm-lined avenues, and white bungalows peeping from its tropical vegetation. Palms, acacias, and ferns almost hide the shipping, and it might be taken for a continental pleasure resort but for a reminder of commerce in the large white-washed station of the Dutch House. Continuing up stream, the river flows between low banks in a valley whose bounding hills are blue in the distance. A few scattered settlements, a homestead on the Portuguese or southern bank, a palm-oil-kernel collecting station on the northern or State bank, and a vast farm on an island on which 7,000 head of cattle are kept by a company to furnish beef to the white inhabitants, are passed before reaching Boma. Here is the administrative capital, with its houses straggling over low hills down to the water's edge, and on the highest eminence the turretted two-storied residence of the Governor-General, surrounded by palm-groves and luxuriant tropical gardens. On the river front runs the railway, with a spacious roadway and fine landing jetties, and close by stands a large block of buildings erected at a cost of £40,000 as a hotel, but now converted to official use. There are a lower and an upper town, the former the business quarter with its offices and warehouses, the latter the residential town containing the bungalows and gardens of the white inhabitants. A steam

tramway and a narrow-gauge light railway furnish the only means of locomotion, and all carriage is performed by porters. Boma has little trade, and its importance is due to its official character as the State capital. The native quarter, which is entirely separate, houses some 3,300 people in bamboo and palm-thatched huts scattered in groups on the hill-sides and forming the suburbs of Boma. The natives supply the labour for the public works, such as road-making, scavenging, and portage. Their Sunday evening festivities are held on the beach, and shouts and songs proclaim their continuance far into the night.

Navigation on the Middle Congo.—The designation of the various portions of the Congo is still a little vague, but Lord Mountmorres, the Special Commissioner of the *Globe*, proposes to introduce a third division by applying the term Middle Congo to an intermediate part of the river from the head of the ravine above Stanley Pool to Nouvelle Anvers. In the Pool itself he was disappointed, and he describes it as flat and uninteresting, with low shores and almost treeless 'slands. The river above the Pool winds through a narrow and tortuous ravine, enclosing it during a two days' journey. It forms the approach to a totally new region, and after passing Kwamouth at the confluence of the Kassai, the great equatorial forest is entered. It overhangs the stream with walls of foliage mainly composed of acacia, mimicking the appearance of more familiar trees, for oak and beech, larch, cedar, elm, cypress, sycamore and yew are so closely imitated as almost to produce the illusion of a northern woodland landscape, were it not for the tufted palms of every species rising singly or in groups above the masses of greenery. Here, too, native life, dissociated from European surroundings, for the first time becomes conspicuous, and frequent villages are seen half hidden by the tree-stems, while canoes are constantly in sight, and fishing weirs constructed of bamboo obstruct the mouths of the little creeks. Not only the Congo itself, but its principal affluents, the Ubangi, the Aruwimi, the Kassai, and others, are traversed by numerous steamers, from the great cargo boats, stern-wheelers of 850 tons, and powerful tugs hauling barges of 500 tons, to the little trading steamers of some fifteen tons, the small peddlers and hucksters of the stream highway. Passengers have their choice of travelling by either the larger or smaller steamers, the latter preferable for comfort

according to the description given here, or in a native canoe, a dug-out on a magnified scale propelled by from fifteen to forty paddlers standing and working in unison to the rythm of songs and chanties. The voyager by these craft usually takes the precaution of landing while they are hauled up the rapids, and always encamps and sleeps on shore. It is the slowest form of river navigation, though all are leisurely compared to the express methods of Europe.

Progress of the Gambia Protectorate.—This official report on one of the least considered of British colonies marks a great advance during the past ten years. In 1893, when the first two travelling Commissioners were appointed, there was no law save the will of the local chiefs. Slave gangs were openly dragged about, traders were liable to be robbed and murdered, men could not cultivate the ground except with their guns beside them, and women were in constant danger of abduction. Now the country has been thoroughly pacified, the inhabitants can pursue their avocations without fear of violence, slavery has ceased to exist, and justice is administered in native courts by the chiefs assisted by the village headmen. Still more rapid has been the rate of improvement on the Upper Gambia, for this province was visited for the first time by a Commissioner in 1900, and only taken in hand a year later. It was then a little explored region, a visit to which was considered an adventurous exploit. Now the river is traversed by launches and lighters, well-built houses occupied by Europeans have superseded the cane huts at the various landing-places, and bustle and prosperity have taken the place of stagnation. The revenue from the hut-tax has doubled, and the protectorate system is being extended to outlying districts. An interesting experiment in the cultivation of cotton from American seed was most successful, as it was classed in Liverpool as equal to the best from the Southern States. The only obstacle to its growth on a large scale is the competition of the ground-nut, which is a more lucrative crop. There is good sport on the river and in the bush. Hippopotami and crocodiles abound on the upper reaches of the former, and leopards of considerable size haunt the latter. There are a great variety of antelopes, of which the roan is the largest, and there are wild boar and a number of wildfowl, including bustards, guinea fowl and sand-grouse.

The best sporting season is from February to May. As both banks of the river are British, the cession of a small block of territory giving access to it is stipulated for in the Anglo-French Convention. The rule of some of the chiefs extends over regions situated in both the French and English colonies, and the migration of one of these with a large following to exclusively British soil in the year 1903 gave rise to troublesome negotiations before he settled down peaceably on the lands assigned him.

Report on Uganda.—The official report on the Uganda Protectorate gives a satisfactory account of its progress during the year ending in March 1904. Revenue had increased and expenditure diminished, while the returns of the cash payments of the hut-tax, a test of the prosperity of the natives, had risen by over fifty-one per cent. Trade is also expanding, and its total value for the year, amounting to £176,047, shows a substantial advance on the figure for the preceding year. This advance is likely to be maintained, as it corresponds to a rise in the native standard of comfort and increased demand for European goods. The improvement in their condition is shown in the construction of brick and iron houses instead of grass huts by the chiefs, in the substitution of cotton garments for bark cloth in the dress of the lower classes, and in the use of petroleum, enamelled ware, boots, shoes, and cheap articles of European manufacture in their households. The people seem well contented with British rule, and there has been no trouble with the outlying tribes. To manufacturers at home Uganda opens a small but steadily increasing market, and attention is called to the suggested manufacture of the so-called "American" cotton cloth in England, which seems to have been successfully accomplished in Italy. As regards the future of Uganda, the Commissioner does not consider it likely to be a white man's country in the same sense as South Africa and parts of the adjoining Protectorate of East Africa. The climate is not conducive to white colonisation, nor would it be desirable that Europeans should work out of doors on equal terms and in association with natives. Development by British capital and native labour is the system advocated as suitable; and as land can be obtained, freehold up to 1,000 acres and under lease in larger areas, the investment of money in the cultivation of cotton, coffee, fibre, and other products might be profitable. In

most cases, unoccupied lands and the larger forests are owned by Government, but where grants of land include areas under cultivation it is with the distinct understanding that native rights are not to be interfered with. In some of the provinces cattle rearing might be advantageously carried on, especially in Ankole, on the borders of the East African Protectorate, in which an increasing demand for cattle by settlers might be looked for. As about half the lands in Uganda have been allotted to chiefs and private landowners under the Uganda Agreement, there might be difficulty about the title to grants of land until the completion of the survey in progress.

State Railway Policy in Canada.—The liberal victory in the Canadian Elections was an endorsement of the Government railway policy, which was the main issue before the constituencies. The necessity of duplicating the outlet of the corn belt was one of the most urgent matters for the country, and the only matter in dispute was the best method of effecting it. The Opposition favoured State ownership and construction, while the Government had concluded a contract with the Grand Trunk Company for the construction of the line westward from Winnipeg to the Pacific, while the Government undertakes to build the line eastward from the same point to the Atlantic, Moncton in New Brunswick being the terminus decided on. The rivalry of the several provinces, rather than commercial considerations, necessitates the prolongation of the central or prairie section to the sea at both ends, as the Maritime States on the one hand, and British Columbia on the other, demanded this concession to their individual interests. The contract binds the Company to proceed at once with the extension westward from Winnipeg to the slope of the Rockies, while the Government build their portion of the line eastward. The latter, when completed, is to be handed over to be worked by the Company for fifty years, when it reverts to the State. The money obligations of the Government are very onerous on the whole line, as they guarantee three-fourths of the bonds on the western section in addition to paying a money subsidy of from eight to ten million dollars on the mountain section. Port Simpson, it is understood, will be the port at which it will reach the Pacific.

Notices of Books.

Der Index der verbotenen Bücher in seiner neuen Fassung dargelegt und rechtlich-historisch gewürdigt. Von JOSEPH HILGERS, S.J. Freiburg : Herder. 1904. Pp. xxi.-638. Price (unbound) 9s.

THIS excellent work, up-to-date in every respect, gives the text, the history and the interpretation of the Index as reformed by Leo XIII. It makes one realize the care which the Church from the apostolic age has taken to protect the faith of her children by warning them against dangers. Father Hilgers especially insists on the fact that the Index merely enforces the natural law, and that a constant reading of anti-Catholic or even anti-Christian literature must have a bad effect on everyone, especially those who think themselves safe (p. 53 ; p. 41). The accusations brought against the procedure of the Congregation would soon be silenced if people read quietly the Bull "*Sollicita ac provida*" (p. 59 *seq.*). The history of the prohibition of books in different countries by the secular Governments shows the mildness and consideration of the Holy See. We need not be surprised that there is in England now such a horror of prohibition, for from Henry VIII. onwards the English laws were much more rigorous than anywhere else ; and as the different religious opinions rapidly followed each other, no one was sure whether the laws which he helped to apply to-day against his antagonists might not be applied against him by people of numerous other shades of opinion who were likely to gain the upper hand later on. The chapter dealing with the "*Censure of Books in England*" (pp. 206-221) deserves to be fully translated and spread amongst the people.

L. N.

The Symbol of the Apostles. A Vindication of the Apostolic Authorship of the Creed on the lines of Catholic Tradition. By the Very Rev. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, D.D., Vicar-General of the Diocese of Antigonish, Nova Scotia. New York: Christian Press Association Co. 1903. Small 8vo, pp. 366.

THE nucleus of this work was published as a series of articles in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* (January-July, 1903). It is a pity the articles appeared. It is still more unfortunate that they should have been republished in a book which does no honour to Catholic scholarship. The author was quite capable of giving us a useful manual of patristic evidence as to the early history and origin of the Creed, for he has been careful in collecting many of the sayings of the chief of the Fathers of the Church about the subject. But his studies have not been carried far enough to warrant his launching forth a book which criticizes the critics, especially in the jaunty and self-sufficient style which characterizes the present production.* It is not only German "rationalists" who come in for his lash, but even Conservative and Catholic writers receive unmerciful treatment. If he knew more than they we might pardon the manner for the sake of the matter. As he has not even read them, the reader feels astonishment at his presumption. Some day, when he is more learned, he may show himself more modest. He has not used Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole*. He has no acquaintance with the indispensable works of Caspari, which laid the foundations for our present knowledge, such as it is. He has not studied the bulky and ill-arranged and annoying volumes of Kattenbusch, whose encyclopædic labours must form the start for any further investigations. After this it is a minor thing to say that he has not read smaller Catholic works like those of Fr. Blume, S.J., and Dom Suitbert Baeumer, the latter of whom, with his *confrère* Dom Morin, comes in for criticism; though Dr. Macdonald only knows their opinions at second hand. Harnack deserves some of the censure which he receives; but the author has read only the small pamphlet evoked by the "Schrempf-incident." He knows only by name Harnack's

* In the *American Eccl. Rev.* for July, 1904, is an article by the same author in the same style against Harnack. We cull a single flower (p. 135): "Let him tell that to the marines." (Dr. MacDonald of course means "the horse-marines.") Is this the style in which Catholic scholars write in Nova Scotia?

article in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*, and has not consulted the discussion in his *Chronologie*, I., 524. If Dr. MacDonald should wish to begin a serious study of the subject he will find the literature catalogued for him by two Catholic writers—Dr. Bardenhewer, in his *History*, and Dr. Ehrhard.

One is glad to hold (with Bardenhewer and many others) that there is no serious difficulty in believing that the traditional attribution of the "Roman" Symbol to the Apostles is well-founded, but one would wish it to have a more serious defender. Here is an interesting extract :

"It is this Symbol of the Church of Alexandria that Origen summarizes for us in the passage cited above. He got it when a boy from St. Clement, Bishop of that Church ; for Eusebius tells us that Origen attended the catechetical instruction given by St. Clement " (pp. 178-9).

The knowledge here shown about the great catechetical school of Alexandria is too remarkable to have been passed over. Has Dr. MacDonald never heard of the long-lived Bishop Demetrius ? As to the sanctity of Clement, he may consult the Bull of Benedict XIV., *Postquam intelleximus*, July 1, 1748. After this it is a small matter to find Dr. J. R. Gasquet described as a Benedictine and an Abbot, to find the Acts of Pope Alexander I. quoted as an historical authority, or *christianizo* translated "christen" ! Here is a strange remark :

"There is another reason why it is unsafe to argue from silence, especially in the case of so voluminous a writer as St. Augustine. It is that one can hardly ever be quite sure of the truth of one's premise. Who can say that he has read all the works of St. Augustine through, and noted what he says or has left unsaid ? " (p. 144).

This is the author's only argument against the certain fact that St. Augustine nowhere alludes to the Apostolic authorship of the Creed ! A homily of St. Augustine (*de Symbolo ad Catechumenos*) being against the author's view, he argues at length against its authenticity (not knowing the interesting details which Caspari had found in MSS., *Alte und neue Quellen*, p. 236, etc.), for, as he coolly says : "The only effective means of getting it out of the way was to blast the homily !" (p. 143). It is not worth while to criticize Dr. MacDonald's minor conclusions in detail. They are frequently contrary to the universally accepted results attained by careful

and unprejudiced scholars, for instance, in the case of the African Creed, as traced especially in Cyprian and Augustine. Such unfortunate results were inevitable after wilful neglect of nearly all that has been written in the past twenty years.

The Greek quotations are full of misprints. One of these is somewhat comic. Three times we find *ἐξομολογηθεὶς* (*sic*) on pp. 200-1, and then the query: "It would be interesting to know what Harnack would make of *ἐξομολογηθεὶς* in this passage." It would indeed be most interesting!

J. C.

A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century. By JOHN THEODORE MERZ. Vol. II. London: Blackwood and Sons. 1903. 8vo. Pp. xiii.-807.

AFTER the perusal of this ponderous volume our verdict is that its general tone must command admiration, and the amazing erudition of both text and notes reminds one of Zeller's *History of Philosophy*. The first volume was reviewed in these pages shortly after its appearance. The praise then bestowed upon the life's work of its author we repeat with added force in regard to this fresh instalment of his gigantic undertaking. To review the work with any detail would be to write an article. We must content ourselves therefore for the most part with a general survey. The present section traverses the experimental or concrete sciences. The section that is promised will take in hand the course of philosophical thought in the century.

The writer makes us feel that we are not too near the nineteenth century to be able to appreciate something of its complex scenery and perspective. It strikes some persons that there is just now a dearth of inspiration and genius of the first rank among scientific teachers as in other departments of life. We have the best of schoolmasters, the most engaging professors, the most indefatigable students, a passion for duly arranged and decently endowed research. The minuteness of historical criticism was never so untiring, the application of scientific principles and discoveries never so all-pervading as to-day. Our exponents of science are steady, reliable, earnest, tolerant and contented; but the inspiration of true genius is wanting. The builders and iconoclasts of the past sixty years have had their day. Darwin, Spencer and Bain have quitted

the scene, and already our buoyant youthfulness has severed itself from the nineteenth century as never a century was severed from its predecessor in the past. This is not because the book deals primarily with the dead, but because the men who made the nineteenth century what it was, and who will be identified with it, have had their say, and are superseded. But more than this : the sorting process has begun. True, we are not accustomed to pay undue cultus to the past. Still, we remember, and we forget. Comte, Mill, Darwin and Spencer will be remembered. They created, or, at any rate, they introduced, new ideas. Others that were much talked of have fallen into the background.

We have read this elaborate study with a growing sense of its importance. It is occupied exclusively with the circle of the physical sciences, to which is added a special chapter on the development of mathematical sciences. It enters into few or no details. It is never in any sense a text-book, but it is an education. It provides what the school book does not pretend to supply, and what the narrow specialist is unable to communicate. From facts, inductions, theories and laws it passes to the structure and bearings of the separate sciences, and from the separate sciences it looks steadily and constantly at the immeasurable network of being, energy, activity, beauty, life and mind which we call nature. We do not fear the imputation of exaggeration when we affirm that the book will mark an epoch in the life of the thoughtful professor who will read it attentively. And we desire to impress the usefulness of the book upon the teachers of science in our colleges, and more especially upon our professors of philosophy.

We do not assume the responsibility of granting an imprimatur to every scientific statement contained in this unusually ample volume. We are far from believing that the interlacing of causes, occasions and circumstances in the closely woven fabric of this historical record is outside the range of criticism. What we hold ourselves accountable for is the recommendation of the treatise to readers of the DUBLIN interested by profession or otherwise in the intellectual work of the century we have just quitted.

Where there is so little to complain of we are reluctant to criticize. The author handles his subject with enthusiasm, which is rather a merit than a defect. He has an obtrusive fondness for the word "great," which, however, is but an

inadvertence. In some cases, notably in that of Professor Ernst Haeckel, he has carried the impartiality of the historian almost to a degree of stoicism. When he speaks of the brilliant history of philosophy in the first half of the nineteenth century we feel compelled to divine his meaning as best we can, and we look forward to the succeeding volume with an anxious mind. When he refers to the exact treatment of philosophy by Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer we are tempted to think that he is not a specialist in that exalted branch of knowledge. In the far-reaching relations between science, philosophy and religion he is sound, though reticent and sometimes vague; while in the brief, or perhaps we ought to say provisional, allusions he makes in reference to philosophical problems, we have found him at times superficial. Here and there we are unable wholly to endorse his opinions, at least as we understand them. Here, for example, is a passage which has given us pause :

“Happily this country has produced many great and a few thinkers of the first order, in whom the greatest that scientific thought has achieved was in harmony with a truly religious spirit. In contemplating these illustrious examples, and bowing before their greatness, the popular mind will probably find its conviction of the possibility of an ultimate reconciliation of both aspects more strengthened than by leaning on the doubtful support of a voluminous apologetic literature, which proposes to give general proofs where only individual faith can decide” (p. 325).

! The work consists of eight chapters, which average ninety pages each. The first two have for their subject the material universe. The next four are concerned with the myriad questions, theories and controversies that have clustered round life in all its manifestations. A chapter well worth careful study follows on statistics, to which we will refer no more than by a single quotation, which may serve to whet the appetite of the reader :

“But whilst acknowledging the great importance which the statistical treatment of phenomena has acquired in our age, and the value of the statistical view of many large departments of natural processes which escape every other mode of dealing with them, we must not forget that it is essentially one-sided” (p. 624).

Many will follow intently the gradual unfolding of what we call modern science in the successive discoveries of three or four generations of gifted and painstaking scientists. What worlds

of thought, what years of experiment are suggested by the mention of light, ether, gases, vortex motion, spectrum analysis, electricity? Add to these the theories of attraction, atomism, gravitation, force, energy, conservation and dissipation of energy. The value and real interest of the treatment consists in the fact that the various theories, factors and lines of discovery are kept constantly in view; while it is not so much any definitely acquired results that are of primary importance, as the record of the manner in which these results were attained in the course of generations.

For very many, as for ourselves, the keenest interest will be excited by the chapters which discuss the problems and gradual expansion of biological science. The explanation of the theory of types in the chapter on the morphological point of view of nature has the true ring of scientific eloquence. In the chapter on the genetic view of nature, the writer's purpose is to explain the growth of what we now term the theory of evolution from Lamarck to Darwin. The exposition is clear and almost brilliant. The author, surrounded as he is by the advocates of rival opinions, is studiously judicial, and, as will appear to many, declines at times to suggest a criticism where criticism would seem to be called for in the present state of scientific judgment. His general view on this difficult subject we accept as sound, especially as to the conscious and unconscious trespassing by scientific men upon domains not their own:

"But in pursuing these and similar writings of modern times we feel on the one side that we are gradually getting out of the depths of science, not only into the domain of conjecture, without which a knowledge of the past cannot be gained, but also into the regions of philosophical thought, which proceeds on other lines than those prescribed to science, and which will claim our attention in a special portion of this work" (p. 352).

Questions of origin are but incidentally touched, being properly set aside for the present as beyond the frontiers of experimental science:

"Biological knowledge itself has progressed on the same lines as chemical, physical and mechanical knowledge; . . . but it has generally been felt that this knowledge does not exhaust the subject; that there is some principle involved which we know not; and that we cannot think about the living portion of creation without consciously or unconsciously admitting the existence of this principle" (p. 375).

"No theory of the nature and origin of life has gained universal acceptance: the very alphabet of biology, or the science of life, has still to be written. We fancy we possess some knowledge of certain forms or processes which are common to all living matter, but the description of these has to be kept in the most general, not to say the vaguest, terms" (p. 370).

We may be allowed one more quotation on the subject of materialism:

"A popular philosophy founded upon the unknown principle of matter, and the equally unknown and even less clear principle of force, promulgated the notion that science had succeeded in banishing all spiritual entities, and was able to explain everything on purely mechanical principles. . . . It is well to note that none of the great men to whom we are indebted for the real extension of knowledge of biological phenomena favoured or embraced this view" (p. 399).

In the essay on phycho-physics he approaches nearest to the purely intellectual phenomena of life. Modern ingenuity, perseverance, have been abundantly resourceful in this region. Fifty years ago the department, as a subject of special inquiry, did not exist. At the present time no University is completely equipped without it. There is undoubtedly a physical side or concomitant to all our mental states. That physical side in all its multiplicity, impressionability, elasticity, and subtle relations is the field proper to psycho-physics. The chapter is well constructed, and full of light without the distraction of details. The tone is sympathetic, and with regard to Helmholtz and Wundt even enthusiastic. But when the author comes to estimate the net result of these multifarious investigations in opening out the ultimate realities of biology, he is vigorous in showing that science has left the questions of life and mind very much where it found them.

But enough has been said to show the import and value of the book. The table of contents is extensive, but we are inclined to doubt its utility, as the text is accompanied by marginal notes. The index, comprising over fifty pages, has stood the tests we have applied to it. That it should be chiefly an index of names, with subjects grouped under names, arises from the nature of the book; but since subjects are as a matter of fact entered separately, one might have expected to find such important terms as Abiogenesis, Epi-phenomena, Evolution, Soul, Space, Spontaneous generation, Vision. One final

suggestion and we have done. As the reader is not infrequently referred to a previous or a subsequent chapter, it would be a welcome help if in the next edition the chapter and numbered paragraph or page of the reference were given in parenthesis.

H. P.

Quelques motifs d'espérer. Par l'ABBÉ FÉLIX KLEIN, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Paris : Lecoffre. 1904. 8vo. Pp. x.-297.

YET one more book of collected essays. And it seems to us well that these scattered essays on current events and views of the Catholic position in the world should have been brought together and offered to a larger public than in their original form. A professor of the Institut Catholique would lack his *raison d'être* if he were not abreast of his time. Almost the entire series of papers deals with subjects which in a year or two will have yielded to the pressure of new events, needs and combats.

In "Les Associations de Jeunes Catholiques" the reader will learn how much is being done in France in the way of combination for the attainment of social advantages. The scope of one association is worth noting :

"L'engagement qu'ils signent, à l'entrée, n'a rien du pacte maçonnique, et tout ce qu'on leur demande, c'est de réserver dans leurs travaux une part à la piété, une part à l'étude et une part à l'action" (p. 17).

The article entitled "Un Renouveau des Études Ecclésiastiques" is one of the most important in the collection. Its scope is to show, not so much what ought to be done, as what has actually been accomplished, more particularly in France, to educate the mass of the clergy to meet the exigencies of the times.

He opens with an extract from the Mandement of the Archbishop of Albi for Lent, 1902 :

"Dès les premiers jours de son pontificat, Léon XIII chercha à démêler les causes principales de la crise qui traverse aujourd'hui le Catholicisme. Tout d'abord, son attention se porta sur les études ecclésiastiques. Il faut bien le constater,

en dépit des protestations qu'un vain amour-propre ou des illusions plus vaines encore pourraient susciter, il s'est produit, au cours des deux derniers siècles, une sorte d'hiatus entre l'état intellectuel de la société et la pensée religieuse : cette faille est allée s'agrandissant à mesure que le progrès des sciences entraînait l'esprit vers une conception plus complète de l'univers et de ses lois, et nous avons été témoins de ce contraste que, tandis que la science moderne a été bercée sur les genoux de l'Eglise, il y a eu une époque, encore récente, où le nom de savant était pris comme synonyme d'incroyant. . . . Léon XIII a vu le mal, et il a compris que l'Eglise ne retrouverait son prestige que si elle reprenait la tête du mouvement intellectuel" (p. 77).

The book will be valuable for this article alone, from which we can only give one other quotation :

" Mais, surtout, il y a un moyen bien simple de propager la haute éducation ; c'est de ne donner à la jeunesse cléricale que des maîtres ayant fréquenté eux-mêmes les Universités et qui soient tellement pénétrés des bonnes méthodes, des vues générales, des découvertes récentes, qu'il leur soit impossible de verser pour leur propre compte et d'entraîner avec eux leurs élèves dans un amas d'ignorances, de naïvetés et de préjugés sous lequel la vérité religieuse resterait à peine reconnaissable " (p. 105).

The Article on " La jeunesse de Taine " is none the less acceptable, for it was written with a knowledge of the " Correspondance " and other unpublished fragments which appeared in 1902. The abbé's tone is, on the whole, sympathetic. The gist of the article is the revelation of the insufficient motives on which Taine based his early views of the antagonism between reason and Christianity.

Chap. XIII. is a short article having for its title " A de jeunes professeurs. " Of this we will only say that if our heads of colleges would republish it for the benefit of their staffs they would, we are confident, be amply repaid in results for their trouble and expense.

There is much more in this collection that will encourage and stimulate all those who desire to be kept in touch with the Catholic feeling and thought of the hour.

H. P.

The Chronicle of the English Augustinian Canonesses Regular of the Lateran, at St. Monica's in Louvain, 1548 to 1625. Edited, with notes and additions, by DOM ADAM HAMILTON, O.S.B.

ALTHOUGH the English houses of Canonesses cannot claim unbroken lineal descent from pre-Reformation houses of their Order, yet the interest of their history falls little short of that of the Brigettines—the only English Nuns who can boast that honour. The community now at Newton Abbot was founded at Louvain in 1609 by some English religious from St. Ursula's convent in the same town. In that house was found a connecting link with old English monasticism in the person of Sister Elizabeth Woodford, who, at the suppression, was a nun of Burnham Abbey, Bucks. The leading spirit of the young community of St. Monica's (as the new foundation was called) was Mother Margaret Clement, daughter of that Margaret Clement (née Giggs) who had so nobly succoured the Carthusian martyrs in Newgate. We may note that the Louvain MS. is the sole evidence for this touching episode.

The chronicler's duty was to register the chief events relating to her house, notably the reception of new members and the deaths which occurred. The Louvain Nuns were generous in their entries, and the result is a collection of most interesting and valuable information about the heroic days of English Catholicism. The postulants were mostly daughters of the Catholic nobility and gentry, and each as she came could tell tales of endurance and suffering, of cruel exaction and long imprisonment, regarding her parents or other near relatives. These the Chronicle has lovingly preserved, and thus, besides giving us an insight into the life of a simple-hearted and fervent community, it introduces us into the home-circle of many a martyr and recusant.

The Chronicle is divided into chapters by the editor, who prefaces each with an introduction, full of interesting and, in many cases, unpublished information, which elucidates the text and brings it into touch with our own times. There are a number of excellent and rare illustrations, and the value of the volume is enhanced by several pedigrees.

English Catholics owe a debt of gratitude to Dom Adam Hamilton and to the Nuns of Newton Abbot for a work of unique interest, and we trust this first instalment will soon be followed by another volume.

L.O.S.B.

Conférences aux hommes : le Catholicisme dans les Temps Modernes. Tome Premier : Ses résistances—le Concordat—les événements—les doctrines. Par l'ABBÉ GIBIER, Curé de Saint-Paterne, à Orléans. Paris : P. Lethielleux, Libraire-éditeur, 10 Rue Cassette.

THESE addresses, originally delivered at the men's mass by the Curé of St. Paterne in Orléans, combine a minimum of argument with a maximum of rhetorical declamation and denunciation. This is a grave charge, and some instances—which must necessarily be few owing to the limits of space imposed on the reviewer—must be given in its support.

A typical instance of the author's method is seen in his attack on German philosophy. The cleverest man has never before attempted to compress into a few lines the philosophies of Kant, Hegel and others. Yet our author does so with perfect lightness of heart and without, apparently, any sense of its difficulty, not to say impossibility. The result is, of course, that a totally misleading idea of their systems is conveyed to the reader, on the strength of which he condemns them in no measured terms. It may further be pointed out that even if these were really as destructive as the author pretends, this would not, as he appears to think, prove them wrong. Such proof can only come from opposing idea to idea and system to system.

What a pity there are not more of our apologists who endeavour to carry out the method recommended by the late wise and politic Pope Leo, of saintly memory, when he advised them to meet the materialism of the present age on its own ground and seek to foil it with its own weapons. If the faith is to be effectively defended in the future against modern criticism, it can only be by detaching it from all philosophical and historical assumptions and so making its position unassailable. To affirm the necessity of maintaining certain philosophical or historical positions is tantamount to confessing that no defence is possible on scientific grounds, in which no closed areas or preserves of thought can be recognised except those necessitated by the nature of thought itself.

One more instance must be given, as it well illustrates this point. The author condemns Spiritualism, primarily on the ground that:—"It is suspect in its origin. It came from America, that is to say, from a country where freedom of thought degenerates into intellectual debauch."

Mr. Podmore, in his *Modern Spiritualism: a History and a Criticism*, also passes judgment against its claims. But he only does so after a most free and thorough examination.

The rival methods could hardly be placed in stronger contrast, and there can surely be no doubt as to which is the most effective.

H. C. C.

Napoleon's British Visitors and Captives, 1801 to 1815.

By JOHN GOLDWORTH ALGER, author of the "New Paris Sketch Book," "Englishmen in the French Revolution," "Glimpses of the French Revolution," and "Paris in 1789 to 1794." Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd. 1904.

SO much has been written already on the subject of Napoleon and the French Revolution that any fresh addition to this voluminous literature may well seem to need some justification. In a word, the writer of a new book must either deal with some part of the story that has been hitherto neglected or treated inadequately, or, if he works in more familiar fields, he must be able to correct the errors of his predecessors by the light of authentic evidence. On both of these grounds the appearance of the present volume is amply justified. On the one hand, comparatively little attention has hitherto been paid to this branch of the subject. We are all more or less familiar with story of the French emigrants in England. But little has been said or thought of the strange fate of those numerous British subjects who crowded to Paris during the brief peace or truce that followed the treaty of Amiens, and when the war was renewed were held captives in France for eleven long years. Yet the story is surely one worthy of attention; and even if Mr. Alger had done no more than bring together the scattered notices on this matter in earlier works of history or biography, his labour would not have been wasted. But he has happily been able to do much more than this. He has access to a mass of manuscript documents in the French Archives and in our own Record Office. Something has been gained from the despatches of English ministers, and yet more from the police reports sent to Napoleon. As the author says in his introductory chapter: "But the most vivid picture of the life and treatment of the captives is gained from the police bulletins daily prepared

for Napoleon and now preserved in the French Archives. They also throw a flood of light on the character of Napoleon's internal rule; yet, so far as I know, no French historian has as yet utilized them, and I have every reason to believe that I am the first English writer who has consulted them." This account of the reports is fully borne out by all that Mr. Alger has to tell us in the course of his volume. The information furnished to Napoleon in regard to the character and conduct of his captives is curiously minute. But it is clear that he read the reports with attention. Thus, when one of the Englishmen at Verdun was incarcerated in the fortress for wounding Balbi, the keeper of the gaming tables, in a duel, Napoleon ordered his release. "A prisoner of war," he said, "may fight a duel" (p. 198).

Though the chief interest of the volume centres in these unfortunate captives, Mr. Alger has also something to tell us of those who were simply visitors to Napoleon. Thus we have a curious account of the visit paid by Charles James Fox to the First Consul. Irish readers will be interested to learn how Napoleon saved the life of James Napper Tandy, whose memory is kept green in a well-known national song. He had been given up by Hamburg along with several other Irishmen, and was near sharing the fate with which his name is associated in "the wearing of the Green." But Napoleon claimed them all as French officers, and threatened to shoot an English General, Sir George Don, if Napper Tandy and his companions were executed. And Hamburg was fined four millions for this act of surrender.

These instances may suffice to show that while Mr. Alger's volume furnishes the historical student with a mass of fresh evidence from authentic sources, it is at the same time full of curious interest for the general reader.

W. H. K.

Le Général Fabvier : Sa Vie Militaire et Politique. Par A.

DEBIDOUR. Paris : Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 8vo. Pp. iii.-520.

THIS is less a history than an appreciation. Fabvier's name, once well known in France (M. Debidour says famous in Europe), is almost forgotten. Whether it were essential to the gaiety of nations that it be revived, the study of him affords M. Debidour one of those opportunities of industry and research of which "La Fronde Angevine" and the "Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe, 1814-1878," showed he can make use. But the

student of military or of political science will not learn anything from the volume. As a narrative of events it is clear and interesting. From numerous MS. sources and other original documents has been reconstructed a life of considerable adventure and not a little dramatic incident.

Always a volcano, either in *esse* or *posse*, Fabvier had, during the days of Jena, Eylau, and Friedland, to eat his heart out at Spalats, and then in Constantinople. By an alliance with Persia Napoleon had hopes of striking Great Britain through the conquest of India. General Gardani was sent on a mission to the Shah. This Fabvier joined, to organize the Persian artillery. He laboured in the furnaces night and day like an ordinary workman. The mission failing, 1809, Fabvier transferred his restless energies, as a volunteer, to Poland. To his disgust, piping times of peace followed. In 1811 he was with Marmont in Spain as Aide-de-camp. Badly wounded, he was sent to Paris with despatches. Thence he followed Napoleon into the heart of Prussia; and was again seriously wounded before Moscow. He fought the campaigns of 1813 under Marmont. He graphically describes the dying hours of Duroc, whose widow he eventually married. At thirty-one he was Colonel.

The three armies of the Coalition moved the war from Germany into France. Fabvier now had his fill of arduous duties and perilous missions. In them he was happy. Then the Restoration, with sordid intrigues, fawning for favours, and scramble for place. Such things did not appeal to him. He found it difficult to accommodate himself to the new surroundings, yet he remained loyal to the King when Napoleon escaped from Elba. He felt his honour bound to Louis, though he disliked his ways. But when the King ran away it was another thing. Even then, though considering himself free, he refused a command offered by Napoleon. Though he hated foreign control with all the intensity of a nature that could hate actively, he, curiously enough, thought of raising volunteers rather than of joining the Emperor. Unfortunately there are none of his letters dealing with the busy days of May, June, and July, 1815.

Restive and hardily outspoken, he became suspect of the Government. His defence of Marmont's action in the Canuel affair, 1817, led to his being placed on half pay. Thus at 36 the military career he loved so intensely appeared closed. Thenceforth he was a changed man. His finer qualities were crushed, his baser ones enlarged. Revenge led him where it would, and

made him, the strong, resolute man, a tool of others. Revolution was in the air, and he, whose watchwords had ever been "honour" and "country," attempted by bribery to seduce soldiers from their fealty. He became a Carbonaro, and a confirmed conspirator. In France, against the Government which supported their King; in Spain, in favour of the Government which was supplanting its King. To M. Debidour it was patriotism in Fabvier when fighting for Napoleon; patriotism when fighting for the Bourbons; and now, "Son patriotisme devenait peu à peu cosmopolite"; a "propagande libérale," which led him into a theatrical and ridiculous exhibition at Bedassoa. His attempt to poison the army of France with ideas of revolt from duty and discipline ignominiously failed. We are glad to pass from the aberrations of a brave man.

In 1823 he went to Greece. Like most of the first Europeans who volunteered to help the Greeks, he was coldly received. With characteristic energy he learned the language and studied the people. The Government asked him to draw up a scheme for a regular army. In the teeth of suspicion, jealousy, and opposition, he organised one. Whereas 500 men had hitherto seldom been held together, he secured 3,700 well clothed, well disciplined, well armed troops. He had a gift for organisation. M. Debidour claims that Athens' prolonged resistance, whereby Greece obtained better terms than otherwise she could have done, was due to Fabvier. His recital of events to prove this is interesting. But we know the miserable result. M. Debidour keeps his hero so bravely prominent that he appears out of all proportion to what he did or had chance of doing. Even his insane obstinacy in the affair of Scio (Nov., 1827) is not reprovèd. On the other hand, M. Debidour is fair to Capodistria when relating the old soldier of the Empire's hatred of the quondam Russian official. Sick at heart, Fabvier threw up his command, for his feeling towards Capodistria was more than a personal one. He hated Russia, and fearing that Capodistria's presidency might make possible the converting of Greece into a Russian province, he plotted against him, urging that a French Prince would be acceptable to the Greeks as their King, France thus becoming the guardian of the Mediterranean. But Fabvier as a diplomatist was like a certain bull. Capodistria smiled and had him removed to France.

He was Commander of Paris in 1830, but shortly resigned. Tried revolution in Poland and in Spain with ill results. Tried

(1834) politics with no better. Then, like another Roman, he took up agriculture, being the first, it is said, to cultivate potatoes in Touraine!

In 1840 he was recalled to the army, rapidly rose to be a General, and in 1845 a Peer of France. This child of '89, the intimate of Manuel and La Fayette, the conspirator of 1820, the revolutionist of 1823, was become a strict conservative, believing that democracy was leading France to the dogs, and that the *ne plus ultra* of progress was the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe directed by Guizot.

His Catholicism, too, grew to be practical and insistent. He saw in it the corner stone of the social edifice. A bad speaker, he spoke often on foreign affairs—upon which he was not always far-seeing—and on the army, here an admitted authority, only the transparent honesty of his vehement advocacy gained him attraction.

The Revolution of 1848 was a bitter surprise to him. He retired into private life, carrying his bitterness untamed with him. Hitherto he had looked on Louis Buonaparte as either a criminal or a lunatic. But Fabvier's hatred of Cavaignac drove him to supporting Buonaparte for the Presidency. When, therefore, Frederic VII. of Denmark wanted, in 1849, a French officer to reorganise his army, in view of German aggression, Fabvier was sent him. Of the "crime" of 1852 Fabvier was only a spectator—he had returned to agriculture some time before. In 1855 he died, little remembered amid the excitement of Sebastopol.

It would be difficult to write a dull book on such a man. M. Debidour is never dull, if never profound.

D. M. O'C.

St. Egwin and the Abbey of Evesham. By the BENEDICTINES OF STANBROOK, Stanbrook Abbey, Worcester. 1904.

THE story of St. Egwin, Bishop of Worcester and founder of the Abbey of Evesham, is so overgrown with legend that it is difficult to find the facts. But the Stanbrook Benedictines have translated the version of that story given by Thomas Marleberge, monk and Abbot of Evesham. This writer lived in the thirteenth century. We are informed that, besides this life, two others, which only exist in MS. and are earlier in date, have been collated.

The volume also contains a short chronicle of the Abbots of

Evesham. This is followed by extremely interesting chapters on the monastic influence of Evesham and on her Saints. The existing remains of the great Abbey are also described. There are a number of good illustrations. N.

Saint Irénée. Par ALBERT DUFOURCQ. Paris : V. Lecoffre. 1904. "Les Saints."

THIS learned volume is entirely taken up with the exposition of the writings of the great Bishop of Lyons and of his place in Christian history and theology. In fact, there is little or nothing known about St. Irenæus that can be called personal or biographical. M. Dufourcq is well known for his studies on the Christian martyrs and on the Manicheism of the fifth and sixth centuries. At this moment, in a series called *La Pensée Chrétienne* (Paris : Bloud), he is publishing, in French, long extracts from S. Irenæus. M. Dufourcq considers that the holy doctor achieved two great exploits : he practically killed Gnosticism and he laid the foundation of Christian theology. Gnosticism is a thorny and intricate subject ; but its main features are most clearly brought out in this work. We see how Gnosticism is a general name for those systems which, before and after Christ, have attempted to explain man's connection with the Deity by theories of intermediary beings, combined with views (arising out of those theories) of God's nature, which either confuse God with the universe or attribute creation to some principle antagonistic to God. St. Irenæus destroyed Gnosticism by setting forth the true doctrine of the Incarnation, and showing Jesus to the philosophic world as the Revealer, the Redeemer, and the Transformer of man into the divine. He thus laid down that Christian theology of God, the Trinity and the Incarnation, which was afterwards developed by Origen and St. Gregory Nazianzen. St. Irenæus wrote a great deal, but hardly anything of his writings has come down to us except the celebrated treatise *Adversus Haereses*, and that only in a Latin translation. The correct title of this great patristic monument is "The Detection and Refutation of False Gnosis," or Gnosticism. The well-known reference to the Roman Church which occurs in this treatise (iii. 3, 2) is commented upon by M. Dufourcq, who shows that the reading "*propter potentiorē principalitatem*" is the true one, and not *potiorem*, as Dom Massuet read. N.

Nicholas Garlick, Martyr. By EDMUND KING, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1904.

NOT much is known of the glorious Martyr, Father Nicholas Garlick, who suffered the death of a traitor at Derby in 1588. He was a Derbyshire man, born in the Peak, and after an Oxford training acted as schoolmaster at Tideswell. Thence he went to Douai (or rather, to Rheims), and, after completing his studies, was ordained in 1583. Early in 1584 he went upon the English Mission. He was taken and imprisoned in London in the same year, but was deported to France with a number of other priests. Returning to England, he laboured on the Mission for about three years, and was finally taken, lodged in Derby gaol, and hanged, drawn, and quartered, with Fathers Ludham and Sympson, on July 24th, 1588. There is still existing the ancient Chapel—now a barn—of Padley Hall, near Hathersage, a seat of the Fitzherberts of Norbury, where Father Garlick was for a time concealed, and where he was taken. Father King gives us two illustrations of this interesting relic.

N.

San Gregorio Magno. Di H. GRISAR, d. C. d. G. Traduzione dalla tedesco di A. DE SANTI, d. C. d. G. Roma: Desclée, Lefebvre e Com. 1904.

FATHER GRISAR'S life of St. Gregory the Great, first published in German some fifteen years ago, was translated for the pages of the *Civiltà Cattolica* by Father De Santi. It now appears in the form of a volume, in the series issued by Messrs. Desclée, and called "I Santi." This series contains many of the biographies and treatises brought out by Lecoffre, of Paris, in "Les Saints."

Father Grisar is well known as an archæologist and historian, and this life displays all his excellent qualities of research, accuracy, and sobriety. He is well acquainted with the Jaffé-Ewald MS. of St. Gall, although he wrote before the publication of the full text by Dom Gasquet. He considers that there cannot be any doubt that St. Gregory was a Benedictine, or that the Apostles of England were Benedictines, and that, at Canterbury and elsewhere, they were both monks and missionaries. He holds it to be certain that St. Gregory improved and amplified the ecclesiastical chant, just as he reformed the text of the Liturgy and reformed the Church's ritual.

N.

The Science of Life. By MRS. CRAIGIE (John Oliver Hobbes). London : Burns & Oates. 1904.

IN Mrs. Craigie's somewhat rambling lecture, delivered as President of a Birmingham Ruskin Society, we find an attempt to contrast the views of St. Ignatius on "life" with those of Tolstoi and some other people. Most people would be inclined to say that the difference between the Saint and the Russian lies in the fact that the former believes in God and immortality, and the latter in neither the one thing nor the other. But it would be commonplace to set this down in a Ruskin Lecture. We are therefore told that St. Ignatius desired to make people strong, while Tolstoi wants to make them happy. This antithesis, it need not be said, covers only a small portion of the philosophic field of either of these authorities—and the consequence is that this brochure is made up of disjointed remarks, more or less cleverly put, on the two eminent persons and their writings, and on a good many other things. As for St. Ignatius, it must be supposed that the Ruskin associates required his character, his conversion, and his *Exercises* to be treated in a spirit of condescension and "culture"; for that is the impression one receives. In regard to Tolstoi, we are told that he writes in the way he does because he is "disillusioned"—that is, has tried a great number of material and sensual pleasures, and is not happy. Hence he says that money ought to be abolished, and also war. It would have been more profitable, and certainly more to the point, to say that he is a heathen, narrow-minded and superficially educated, who has presented to the world some effective pictures of the world's hardships, often in a needlessly coarse style. Mrs. Craigie's observations on the life-fever of modern homes, on modern philanthropy, on Mr. Carnegie, on the duty of cheerfulness, and on the young, are most of them just and, as might be expected, smartly expressed. But this publication will hardly add to her reputation.

N.

The Love of Books: being the Philobiblion of Richard de Bury. Newly translated by E. C. THOMAS. The King's Classics Series. London : Alexander Moring. 1903.

RICHARD DE BURY, Bishop of Durham, flourished during the reign of Edward III. He died in 1345, the year before the battle of Neville's Cross, and one wonders how the marching and counter-marching of English armies through St.

Cuthbert's patrimony during the Scottish wars affected the dignified and scholarly Bishop, who put the finishing touches to this ardent rhapsody "on books" at Bishop Auckland in the same year as he died. He had more books, it was said, than all the other English Bishops put together. He had a library at each of his residences. He was a most unwearied collector, as he frankly states in this treatise. We have here his thoughts on the uses and value of books, the abuse of them, and the way to preserve them. Written in the leisurely, child-like, learned, and charmingly fresh style of the age that culminated in Chaucer, these chapters afford a hundred pleasing side-lights of the views and manners of the time. The edition here translated is that of the translator himself, Mr. C. G. Thomas, of Oxford, published in 1888. As for the translation, it is on the whole excellent. But there are some mistakes. "Minds of profoundest wisdom" (p. 12) should be "mines," and on p. 15 there is an incomplete sentence. "Diviner" (p. 16) should be "divinest." The phrase (p. 23) where it is said of the clergy "Ye are called the very Church of God" omits to render the word *autonomatice* of the original—"by excellence the Church of God." There are a good many more or less useful notes. But why is there no note to explain the curious expression, "an empiric verse?" (p. 26).

N.

Old Testament Prophecy. By the late A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., LITT.D. Edited by J. A. Patterson, D.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1903.

CONSIDERING that, so far as our knowledge goes, this book constitutes the first attempt within recent years, on the part of a specialist in prophetic lore, to explain to English readers the meaning and bearing of the work of the Jewish prophets, it will be sure of a welcome from not a few.

The book falls naturally into two parts, the first treating generally of the nature of prophecy, the second of the meaning of the prophecies in particular. In what follows we touch briefly only on the first part of Dr. Davidson's undertaking.

Prophecy in its true meaning approximates rather to preaching than to prediction. Thus it comes about that prophecy enters into the life of religion as an integral part; it is the connecting link between the Old and New dispensations; not something dead and buried in our sacred books, but a force living still,

the very soul and life-giving principle of religion. But if this be true, since the union between soul and body is of all unions the most intimate, so may we expect to find a connection and a certain parallelism between Jewish prophecy and Jewish history.

So close was and is the connection between the supernatural and the natural that we find even in the prophets that element of doubt which seems necessarily associated with all matters of faith, and which according to the Angelic Doctor unites it with opinion: "Being moved by the spirit was not a thing so distinctive, but that it might be confused with one's own natural emotions. Probably it had no characteristic by which it could be distinguished from the natural activities of the mind itself. At least this may be said that, though the prophet really moved by the Spirit knew certainly that he was so, the prophet who was not so moved might imagine himself to be. Probably the case of the Spirit speaking to the prophet was similar to the case of the Spirit's influence in converting men. Though the true prophet was himself sure of being so, yet the grounds of his assurance, being subjective, could not be formulated so as to prevent a man deceiving himself and being a sincere false prophet, just as a man may now deceive himself as to his spiritual condition before God; and if a man now interrogates himself regarding his conversion, though he will ascribe it to God, he will not be able to put his finger on any point of the mental process which differs from the natural processes of the mind."

But if prophecy was the life of Judaism, then it must have shared in that spontaneity and growth which form the essence of all life, whether physical or intellectual. This teaching, as amplified by our author, we believe is at the bottom of that of St. Thomas; though his reliance, in this as in so many other matters of importance, on the great Jewish doctor Maimonides, led him to intensify in some sort the mechanical side of the prophecy.

Dr. Davidson has also much to say on the distinction between true and false prophets, on the Isaianic problem, on the Messianic prophecies and other absorbing questions; but upon this part of his work space forbids us to trespass. However, we feel it our duty to say that here, more especially, we have remarked two faults, the first being the curious disdain of New Testament criticism which the author apparently affects, and

which weakens several of his arguments ; the second being a certain diffusiveness of style involving many useless repetitions. However, the first defect may find its excuse in the fact that the majority of Anglican scholars have been until now so engrossed in the study of the Old Testament as to be unable to devote any serious attention to the far more difficult and even more important study of the Gospels, and the second in the fact that this book is merely a collection of lectures not originally intended for publication.

C. D.

The Theology of the Old Testament. By A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D. Edited by S. D. F. Salmond, D.D. 8vo. Pp. xi.-553. 12s. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 1904.

THERE is a great charm about this last work of Professor Davidson. Dr. Salmond was well advised in not attempting to take liberties with the work of his departed friend. For though it is evident that if Professor Davidson had lived to complete his book, it would have been overhauled in many respects, and many chapters, notably towards the end of the volume, would have been purged of not a few redundancies and needless repetitions ; still it is better that this should be so, and that we should be able to feel that we are dealing with a work by Professor Davidson, and not with one partly by one and partly by another.

We are interested to read in Dr. Salmond's preface (p. vi.), "He (Dr. Davidson) had an increasing distrust of ambitious attempts to fix the date of every separate piece of the Hebrew literature, and link the ideas in their several measures of immaturity and maturity with the writings as thus arranged. He became more and more convinced that there was no solid basis for such confident chronological dispositions of the writings and juxtapositions of the belief. In his judgment, the only result of endeavours of this kind was to give an entirely fictitious view of the ideas," &c. This passage will be an encouragement to those who, whilst willing to accept the conclusions of reverent and moderate criticism, are disposed to look with scepticism at the more daring flight of extremists.

Perhaps the truth conveyed in the following lines (p. 5) is not always taken sufficiently into account by exegetes : "Obviously, Old Testament theology must be preceded by scientific exegesis

of the literature in its length and breadth. We cannot create a trustworthy theology of the Old Testament by merely picking out a text here and there in an Old Testament book. We must know the whole scope of the book. Individual passages always derive their meaning from the context. Torn from their surroundings their mere language might suggest to us much less than they really mean."

The general idea that runs throughout this volume is that there is no one system of theology common to the whole of Old Testament history. In other words, that Old Testament theology was a growth which culminated in the theology of the Christian Church. It is not an easy matter to divide the time that elapsed from the call of Abraham to the Christian era in accordance with this theory. Perhaps, however, Professor Davidson's may be found to be as good a division as any. First, a preliminary period reaching to the Exodus. Second, from the Exodus to the year B.C. 800. Third, from B.C. 800 to the Exile, B.C. 586. Fourth, from B.C. 586 to B.C. 400; and fifth, from B.C. 400 to the Christian Era.

Throughout the volume Professor Davidson discusses in many chapters the doctrine of God; he then takes up the doctrine of man, the doctrine of redemption, and finally the doctrine of the last things.

Where so much is good it is not an easy matter to select anything for special notice. We may mention, however, that we were particularly struck with the sections dealing with the Divine name, and the particular names for God. "Among the Hebrews," says our author (p. 36), "the name was never a mere sign whereby one person could be distinguished from another. It always remained descriptive; it expressed the meaning of the person or thing designated. The name bore the same relation to the significance of the thing or person as a word does to a thought." And: "hence when a person acquired a new rôle or entered into new relations, or was in some sense a new man, he received a new name. Therefore Abram became Abraham; Jacob, Israel; Solomon, Jedidah—'beloved of God.'"

So too the treatment of the question of Immortality (pp. 402-532) is very good; though here, no doubt, had Dr. Davidson lived to prepare his manuscripts for the press, he would have condensed his matter a good deal. The various sections show how the Israelites, beginning by merging themselves in the nation, and looking upon prosperity in this life as the reward

of the just, adversity as the lot of the wicked, are gradually brought in the last centuries of the Jewish church to recognise a life of rewards and punishments beyond the grave. The ideas of an after-life contained in Psalms xvii., xxxvii., xlix., lxxiii., and also in Job, are examined at length.

In conclusion, we may add that no Biblical student's library will be complete without a copy of Professor Davidson's *Old Testament Theology*.

J. A. H.

Biblische Studien. (1.) Der Pharao des Auszuges. Von Dr. KARL MIKETTA. 8vo, pp. viii.-120. M. 2.60.

(2.) Die chronologischen Fragen in den Büchern Esra-Nehemia. Von Dr. JOSEPH FISHER. 8vo, pp. x-98. Freiburg : Herder. M. 2.40.

IN the first-named volume, Dr. Miketta enters upon a painstaking discussion as to the date, Pharao, and circumstances of the Exodus. He begins with an introduction, giving a brief review of the present state of the question, and then proceeds to work out the problem, making use of the information we possess from Egyptian and Babylonian sources, and of the light thrown upon the subject of the Bible by the clay tablets of Tel-Amarna. We do not propose to enter here into a discussion of the results arrived at, but content ourselves with giving a few of the chief ones. The Bible is not at variance with the Egyptian and Babylonian sources, nor does it require us to seek the persecuting Pharao among those of the nineteenth dynasty. The unrestrained wandering in the desert was possible only in the time of Amenophis II. Finally Amenophis II. (1461-1436) was the Pharao of the Exodus.

Turning now to the volume on Esras and Nehemias, we find that it discusses the final redactor, and the character and tendency of the book. Sections are also devoted to the Aramaic passages and to the decrees of the Persian Kings ; as also to the uncanonical sources.

All this is by way of introduction. Then, in two parts, the books themselves are discussed, the writer dealing with the various returns of the exiles, the careers of Esras and Nehemias, and the date of the laying of the foundation of the new temple (B.C. 519).

J. A. H.

Paradosis, or "In the Night in which He was (?) betrayed."

By EDWIN A. ABBOTT. 8vo, pp. xviii.-216. Adam and Charles Black 1904.

THIS forms the fourth volume of Dr. Abbott's *Diatessarica*. It is difficult to find anything of any value in it, though we are accustomed in Dr. Abbott's writing to find pearls among the masses of learned rubbish which he is in the habit of accumulating. In the preface to this book he refers with just pride to the tendency of modern New Testament critics to agree as to one point in the Synoptic problem, the priority of Mark. He does not mention that this result is largely due to his own labours, and to the publication under his auspices of Rushbrook's invaluable *Synopticon*. "Before long," he adds, "I believe they will agree as to another, namely, the general intervention of John in cases where Luke deviates from, or omits, a tradition in Mark." If critics are slow to jump at this brilliantly argued conclusion as set forth in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (vol. ii., *Gospels*), it must be mainly Dr. Abbott's own fault for having wreathed his serious work in a wild luxuriance of over-ingenuous detail.

The book before us is devoted to showing that every mention of our Lord's betrayal by Judas is a mistaken record of His being delivered up to death by His Father. The proofs involve the supposition that the evangelists know nothing of our Lord's life, and that they fell into ridiculous blunders by mis-reading (each in his own fashion) the early Hebrew record, which was their authority. Dr. Abbott strays into numerous by-ways, and bewilders the reader with an elaborate maze of learning, which reads like the consistent but meaningless wanderings of nightmare. As an example of these delirious dreams we may take the short first appendix, which explains the saying of our Lord: "In my Father's house are many mansions, *πολλαὶ μοαί*." Dr. Abbott quotes the saying of Papias, preserved by St. Irenæus, which applies the words to a distribution in heaven "according to gradation and arrangement." This suggests the word portion, in Hebrew *maneh*, which is somewhat like *μορή*. The word is transliterated by the LXX. as *μνᾶ*. The Hebrew was thus variously taken by the stupid evangelists to mean a region or district, or a *mina*, the piece of money. Another Hebrew word for district also means "talent." Hence the invention of the parable of the

talents and the parable of the pounds (*mina*)! Also the end of the parables, "Be thou ruler over ten districts," is accounted for. "Ten cities," on the other hand, is easily explained—*ἐπὶ πόλεων* having been read for *ἐπὶ πολλῶν*, and so on. Within three pages Dr. Abbott compresses a great deal more of this delirious ingenuity. He has taken so much trouble, he writes with such piety and enthusiasm (though from what we naturally regard as an anti-Christian standpoint), he has such a love for the fourth Gospel, he has so frequently done good work in the past, that it is sad to read such wild absurdities seriously put forward now by one whom we should wish to enjoy nothing but the warmest admiration and respect in his retirement.

J. C.

Die Chronologie der Altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius.

Von ADOLF HARNACK, Zweiter Band. Die Chronologie der Litteratur von Irenaeus bis Eusebius. Leipzig: Hinrichs. 8vo, pp. 564. 1904.

THIS second volume of Harnack's *Chronologie* forms the third volume of his *Geschichte der Altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*. It covers nearly the same ground as the second volume of Bardenhewer's *History*, recently published, which begins with the Alexandrian school, and reaches to the end of the century; but Harnack goes a little further, and includes Eusebius. This volume is less interesting reading than its predecessor, but does not contain, like the former volume of chronology, matter for controversy between Catholic and Protestant. The wideness of Harnack's reading, his completeness and his coolness of judgment, are more strikingly displayed than ever, for here his unfortunate prejudices no longer come into play. The new volume will, of course, be indispensable to students, but this was a foregone conclusion.

For the reviewer there is little to do. There are no very surprising or new views to be pointed out, nor startling errors to be corrected. It is naturally impossible to peruse a work covering so immense a field without finding many points one would be inclined to query, arguments which seem unsound, conclusions which disappoint. But these are either too insignificant for mention here, or they would need an entire article to

explain. Taking the work all in all, there are few, if any, scholars who could have carried through so vast an undertaking with more sobriety, or could have reached conclusions so generally satisfactory and acceptable.

The first half of the work (Book III.) gives the literature of the East, the second half (Book IV.) that of the West. A novelty to be noticed is the treatment of the *Catalogus Claromontanus*, to which Harnack attributes an Alexandrian origin. But his method is at fault. The list is a list of the length of the books, not of the contents of the Canon. The stichometry should have been analysed before the inclusion or exclusion of books was considered, and very different conclusions would have resulted. The inscription of Abercius Harnack now holds to be semi-Christian, not wholly pagan. He holds the Cyprianic authorship of the interpolations in the treatise on the Unity of the Church. He believes that the Muratorian Canon had not a Greek original. He has given up the attribution of the *de aleatoribus* to Pope St. Victor, and admits that it is of later and heretical origin. On Mgr. Batiffol's new *Tractatus Origenis* he is insufficient, apparently not having seen Dom Butler's latest argument in the *Zeitschrift für N.T. Wissenschaft*, 1903, iv. ; but he rightly sums up against the authorship of Novatian, and is in favour of the late date proved by the Catholic scholars Funk, Morin, and Butler. The composition of the pseudo-Clementines (on the early date of which two famous theories were built, the Tübingen school's opposition of Peter and Paul, and the apocryphal origin of St. Peter's Roman episcopate) is now placed in the first years of the fourth century, in spite of the reclamation of the aged Hilgenfeld, the last survivor of the Tübingen schools, against the proofs lately offered in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, that these works were not known to Origen, as had been supposed. The remarks on the earliest Latin translation of the Bible are interesting. The argument that Tertullian did not use the existing Latin translation of St. Irenaeus is of great importance.

J. C.

The Jubilee Manual. By FATHER THURSTON, S.J. London : Burns and Oates. 8vo, pp. 65. 1s. net.

THIS small manual—a further product of Father Thurston's manifold labours—is a translation of Bossuet's Meditations for the time of jubilee. We have compared it here and there with the original and there does not seem to us any greater

difference between the two than might fairly be looked for between a French work and its English translation. We noticed (p. 2) that Father Thurston quotes the words of the Council of Trent (Sess. xiv., Can. 2) : "And this Sacrament of Penance for those who have fallen after baptism is necessary to salvation, as baptism itself is for those who have not as yet been regenerated," as if they were to be found in Bossuet : no doubt because he felt that the previous words might prove misleading. Perhaps, however, it is better in such cases not to add anything to the original, however good, without notice.

J. A. H.

The Note-line in the Hebrew Scriptures. By JAMES KENNEDY, D.D. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 8vo, pp. ix.-129. 4s. 6d. net.

THE "note-line" is a short perpendicular line, placed usually before a word, to indicate that there is something exceptional or suspicious in regard to the word in question. The sign is currently known by the name *Pāsēq* or *Pesiq*, meaning respectively "separating" or "separator" and "separated," showing evidently that the idea was that this sign served the purpose of separating one word from another. That such, however, was not its object might be made absolutely clear by an abundant citation of instances. Dr. Kennedy tells us that by this sign the scribes "desired to call attention to a noteworthy reading," or wished "to assure the reader that the text as transmitted to him was what actually lay before them in the earlier manuscript from which they copied" (p. 5).

The "note-line" is of great antiquity. In some quarters it was supposed to have originated with the Massoretes, whose work was gradually accomplished between the seventh and tenth centuries. But there can be no doubt that they found it already existing in their time ; and in reality it may be taken for granted that it dates back to the years before the birth of Christ.

Dr. Kennedy in his work examines every case of the "note-line" occurring in the Hebrew Scriptures. It would be tedious to a degree for the general reader to enter upon a consideration of the various instances. Suffice it to say, that different manuscripts and printed editions are by no means uniform in the use of this sign ; and that the sign, among other things,

indicates an unusual form of the Divine Name, repeated letters, repeated words, conflate readings, superfluous words, omissions, and the like.

The little book deals with its subject in a most fascinating manner. It cannot be expected to appeal to the general reader, but to the student of the Hebrew text it will prove a valuable help.

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J. A. H.

Retreat Conferences for Convents. By the Rev. CHARLES COX, O.M.I. Third series. London: Washbourne. Pp. viii.-343. Price 5s. 1904.

THE present work of Father Cox will be welcomed by religious who have found his first and second series useful for private retreats. If some of the meditations seem rather too full, it is a fault which will be the more easily pardoned, as it leaves a greater opportunity of selection. We find many striking yet sensible applications of the Holy Scriptures; and quotations from leading theologians assure us that the foundation is solid.

The author shows his experience and sound judgment especially in the Meditations on Imperfections (pp. 31-44) and Tepidity (pp. 59-72); his enthusiasm appears in those on Religious Vocation (pp. 45-58), Holy Rules (pp. 119-134), and Devotion to the Church (pp. 209-219). Under the heading of Holy Poverty, we not only find matter for meditation, but a lucid instruction on the principles of Canon Law as far as they apply in this matter. We are glad to find these explanations, for there seem to be some vague and loose notions about the subject even in religious houses, whose superiors are not too deeply versed in the science.

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L. N.

Œuvres de St. Francois de Sales. Edition Complète. Tome XIII. Lettres: vol. 3. Lyon et Paris: Librairie Catholique Emmanuel Vitte. 1904.

THE thirteenth volume of this great and remarkable edition of St. Francis of Sales, after considerable delay, has now appeared. The persecution of the religious in France, in which the Visitation at Annecy, although it is not yet expelled, has had its share, amply explains the delay. The clients of St.

Francis, and the literary world, had begun to fear that this great enterprise would necessarily come to a standstill under the pressure of the anxieties of the present situation. It is pleasant and cheering to welcome this new volume, and it may be permitted to hope that the home of the Sisters at Annecy may now not be disturbed.

With this volume there is a letter of commendation from a new Bishop of Annecy, and there is a new editor. Mgr. Isoard, a man of culture and sympathy, is gone ; but Mgr. Campistron, who is not so widely known, makes it quite clear that the work is as dear to him as to his predecessor. Canon Benedict Mackey's name disappears from the "introduction," and the editorial preface is signed by Père Navatel, S.J. The Bishop expresses in warm and gracious language his sense of what the work owes to Canon Mackey, whom he styles *un vrai savant*. It appears that the present volume, which is made up of the letters written by the Saint from the beginning of 1605 to the spring of 1608, requires "criticism more penetrating, and a more perfect knowledge of French and of the religious history of the past." If this is the only reason why Canon Mackey retires, there is certainly nothing to justify it in the new volume, in which the editor's work is neither in criticism, in French, nor in history any better than in the two volumes of letters already out.

At the same time, the new editor seems to have done his work very well. His preface characterizes the epoch very effectively, and points out the special interest of the contents of the volume. In fact, there is little that is new in this instalment of the letters. By far the largest number are those celebrated letters to St. Jane Frances, which have long been in the hands of every pious reader. But it is not too much to say that we have here, for the first time, a really critical edition of those letters. When we compare the dates and other circumstances as we find them here with what passed for sufficient accuracy even as recently as Mgr. Bougaud's work on St. Jane Frances, we see the difference at once. These letters, however, and others equally well known, such as those addressed to that interesting personality, the Abbess of Puits-d'Orbe, have not made any great demands on the reading and research of the editor. The letters here printed for the first time are some twenty-five in number. They are all very short, and though many are interesting enough, none are of very great importance. One of them—that numbered 389—seems to have been contributed by the Sisters of the Visitation

at Harrow. It is addressed by the Saint, on March 13th, 1607, to Charles d'Albigny, the unfortunate Governor of Savoy, who lost his head for treason less than a year after the date of this letter.

The new volume has a new printer's name, but is still printed at Annecy. The paper and type seem to be the same as from the beginning—both are excellent. The general get-up shows a few differences, but none of any importance. No library can afford to be without the edition, of which this is the thirteenth volume.

N.

Tyburn and the English Martyrs. By Dom BEDE CAMM, O.S.B. London : Art and Book Co. 1904.

IT was right of Dom Bede Camm to print the sermons, five in number, which he delivered at the Triduum, in the Convent Chapel near the Marble Arch, during the month of May last. They are clear and eloquent commentaries on the lives of the glorious martyrs who have suffered at Tyburn. They are at once panegyrics on B. Thomas More, B. John Fisher, and many others, and devout lessons for all who honour their memory. For spiritual reading they are admirably adapted ; the preacher knows how to illustrate moral teaching with personal incident, and how to speak warmly of heroic action without becoming weak or diffuse. There is added to the volume a discourse delivered at York a few years since on the martyrs of that city, who are only second in number and interest to those of London.

N.

Welcome! Holy Communion Before and After. By Mother MARY LOYOLA. London : Burns and Oates. 1904.

THE idea of Mother Mary Loyola's latest book is to offer a stimulating and suggestive manual for Holy Communion by setting out the various ways in which the soul may "welcome" our Blessed Lord in His Sacrament. She treats, for example, the welcome of faith, the welcome of a creature, the welcome of a child, a sinner, a friend, a patient, a toiler ; the welcome of praise, of trust, of love, etc. We have in these chapters a mixture of spiritual reading, of meditation, and of devotion. The style is eloquent and emotional, but the due

sobriety of Catholic prayer is not forgotten. The devout reader will find in the book no little assistance in making preparation for Holy Communion and thanksgiving.

N.

THE REV. CHARLES B. DAWSON, S.J., B.A., the author of *SEQUENTIA CHRISTIANA*, or the Elements of the Christian Religion (*R. and T. Washbourne*; 8vo, pp. xvi.-316), makes this very useful volume his apology for leaving the Church of England. Clear, succinct, and well arranged, its arguments are mainly drawn from Holy Writ, and are forcibly and well put. The marginal notes will be of great assistance to the reader. We welcome this volume as one which will prove of real worth to the hard-worked priest and catechist as well as to the faithful laity.

We have received a copy of the fourth edition of *THE CATECHISM SIMPLY EXPLAINED* (Westminster: *Art and Book Co.*; pp. 172. 1904), by the Rev. H. Canon Cafferata. The work has already proved its worth in former editions, and we are glad to see that it has been appreciated.

A thought from Father Faber for every day in each month will be welcomed by many devout readers. *CONSOLING THOUGHTS FROM FATHER FABER* (London: *R. and T. Washbourne*; 1904), selected and arranged by Winifred Mary Hill, in addition to the beauty of expression, contains much real instruction. An attempt has been made to arrange the "thoughts" according to the months in which some special devotion is given a prominence in the Church services.

AN ETUDE SUR L'IMMACULÉE CONCEPTION (Paris: *C. Douniol*; 1904), by l'Abbé Henri Perreyve, is a reprint of a manuscript originally offered to Pope Pius IX. by the author, then a sub-deacon. It is a thesis showing that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and devotion to Our Lady generally, far from coming between the Soul and Our Lord, enforces, develops and guards Catholic faith and practice in regard to His person and work. The Etude has a warm and sympathetic introduction from the pen of Cardinal Perraud.

THE MAY-BOOK OF THE BREVIARY (London: *R. and T. Washbourne*; 1904) consists of translations of the Breviary lessons, extracts from the Fathers, and especially from St. Bernard, arranged as meditations for each day of the month of May. The meditations are followed by short ejaculations and prayers. The editor, the Rev. John Fitzpatrick, O.M.I., could not be

expected to warn his readers that the authorship of a good many of these is uncertain. The translation seems well done, and the little book has the ecclesiastical *imprimatur*.

The Protestant who told the writer of *THE GROUNDS OF HOPE* (London : *Burns and Oates* ; 1904) that the Catholic religion seemed too good to be true is here instructed by the Rev. W. J. B. Richards, D.D., that, as a fact, God's love and promises are not half realized. His divine care of us, His power to forgive, and His intention to save us, are dwelt upon in detail, and are illustrated by numerous extracts from various spiritual writers.

A further reprint, *BLESSED MARGARET MARY ALACOQUE : her Life, her Mission, and her Golden Sayings* (London : *Burns and Oates* ; 1904), will be acceptable to many. The late Father Garside, who welcomed the beatification of B. Margaret Mary with this small book, was a scholar and could write English. In these pages, besides the story and the piety, there is much that is useful for the present day in this country.

Yet another reprint is *THE IMITATION OF THE SACRED HEART* (New York, *Benziger Bros.* ; 1904), by the Rev. F. Arnoud, S.J. It is translated from the French by J. M. Fastre. In the original and in an English dress this work has been before the public for over half a century, and has enjoyed a certain popularity. The present translation is enriched by an appendix of thirty or forty pages of prayers and devotions taken *verbatim* from the works of B. Margaret Mary.

A volume of the daintily got-up "King's Classics" (London : *Alexander Moring* ; 1903) comes to us bearing the title *THE MIRROR OF VIRTUE IN WORLDLY GREATNESS*. It is the life of Sir Thomas More, Knight, told rather as a string of reminiscences than as a complete life, by William Roper. It is valuable as presenting a touching first-hand picture of the glorious martyr. The letters of More to his daughter Margaret, and her letters to him, are added in this volume.

A short treatise, *JOY IN ALL THINGS* (Sydenham : *H. Potter*) by H. Potter, bearing the *imprimatur* of the Bishop of Southwark, is a little about everything. The writer thinks all should, and might, be happy. But he does not define happiness, which is at most a vague term. Faith, daily Mass, and steadfastness will certainly make one happy—in one sense or another.

We have received a second edition copy of Madame Cecilia's devout manual of meditation, entitled *AT THE FEET OF JESUS* (London : *Burns and Oates*).

The heroic qualities of the Japanese people were first made known to the outer world by the constancy of the Christian converts under perhaps the fiercest and most relentless persecution recorded in the annals of the Church. As Cecilia Mary Caddell says in her *THE CROSS IN JAPAN* (London: *Burns and Oates*; 1904), it forms at once "a glorious and melancholy episode" in Church history. The story of this cruel persecution and glorious martyrdom is one of the thrilling chapters of religious devotion, and derives additional interest from the events now passing under our eyes. The volume has a preface by the Bishop of Salford.

A well-planned study of clandestinity comes from the pen of l'Abbé Bassibey. *DE LA CLANDESTINITÉ DANS LE MARIAGE* (Paris: *H. Oudin*; pp. 416) will be of use to priests in exempt countries as well as to those whose people are affected by the *Tametsi* decree. Especially will it be found useful to priests in sea-port towns. Many cases and solutions are clearly given and supported by references to the decisions of the Roman Congregations.

In *PETALS OF THE MYSTICAL ROSE* (London: *Burns and Oates*; pp. 104, 1s. 6d.) two sets of explanations of the mysteries of the Holy Rosary are given by Fr. Marie-Augustin, O.P. Brief and suggestive, they will be a help to those who find it difficult to meditate on the mystery whilst saying the prayers. Following the explanations, there are the prayers used before and after the Rosary in the Dominican Order, and an appendix on the Perpetual Rosary.

On the whole too vague and general to give practical help, *OUTLINES OF PASTORAL THEOLOGY* (Edinburgh: *Clark*; 1904, pp. xiv.-78, 1s. 6d. net) consists of a translation from the German of an unknown author—probably a Lutheran, or, more likely, one of the Moravian Brethren. The late Rev. William Hastie, D.D., intended them for young ministers and students. As they are meant for Protestant readers, the outlines appear to us, not unexpectedly, blurred and indefinite. There is little original to justify the translation even for Protestant use.

Books Received.

From Doubt to Faith. By Rev. F. Tournebize, S.J. Adapted from the French by Rev. J. M. Leleu. Freiburg : Herder. Pp. 89 (6 by $4\frac{1}{4}$).

Catholic's Manual. By Tilmann Pesch, S.J. Freiburg : Herder. Pp. xxiv.-708 (5 by $3\frac{1}{2}$).

At the Deathbed of Darwinism : a Series of Papers. By E. Dennert, Ph.D. Authorised Translation by E. V. O'Hara and John H. Peschges. Burlington (Iowa) : German Literary Board. 1904. Pp. 146 ($7\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 75 cents.

Holy Confidence ; or, Simplicity with God. Translated by Mother Magdalen Taylor, S.M.G., from a Work of Father Rogacci, S.J. London : Burns and Oates. 1904. Pp. 195 $5\frac{3}{4}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$. 1s. 6d. net.

The Real St. Francis of Assisi. Second Edition. By Fr. Paschal Robinson, O.F.M. London : Catholic Truth Society. 1904. Pp. 112 ($5\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$). 3d.

Poems from the Works of Aubrey de Vere. Selected and Edited by Lady Margaret Domville. London : Catholic Truth Society. 1904. Pp. xx.-183 ($6\frac{1}{2}$ by 4). 1s. net.

Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England. By John Henry Newman, D.D. With an Introduction by William Barry, D.D. London : Catholic Truth Society. 1904. ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5). 2s.

Irish Memories. By R. Barry O'Brien. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1904. Pp. 240 (8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 3s. 6d. net.

The Soul's Orbit ; or, Man's Journey to God. Compiled, with Additions, by M. D. Petre. London : Longmans, Green and Co. 1904. Pp. viii.-204 (8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 4s. 6d. net.

William Shakespeare: His Family and Friends. By the late Charles Isaac Elton. Edited by A. Hamilton Thompson. With a Memoir of the Author by Andrew Lang. London: John Murray. 1904. Pp. x.-521 (9 by 6). 15s. net.

Le Soldat Impérial. 1800-1814. Tome Deuxième. Par Jean Morvan. Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1904. Pp. 525 (9 by 5½).

Moral Briefs. A Concise, Reasoned, and Popular Exposition of Catholic Morals. By Rev. John H. Stapleton. New York: Benziger Bros. 1904. Pp. 311 (7¾ by 5¼). 6s. net.

La Vie de Monseigneur Borderies, Eveque de Versailles. Par Mgr. Dupanloup. Paris: P. Téqui. 1905. Pp. xii.-440 (7½ by 4¾). 4 fr.

Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum; and, A History of Classifications of the Sciences. By Robert Flint, D.D., LL.D., etc. Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood and Sons. Pp. x.-340 (9 by 5½). 12s. 6d. net.

In the Morning of Life. Considerations and Meditations for Boys. By Herbert Lucas, S.J. London: Sands and Co. 1904. Pp. viii.-292 (7¾ by 5¼). 3s. 6d. net.

Aubrey de Vere. A Memoir Based on his Unpublished Diaries and Correspondence. By Wilfrid Ward. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1904. Pp. xii.-428 (9 by 6). 14s. net.

The Life of St. Teresa of Jesus, of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. Third Edition. Enlarged. Written by herself, and Translated from the Spanish by David Lewis. London: Thomas Baker. 1904. Pp. xlv.-489 (9 by 6). 8s. net.

Joseph Kardinal Hergenröther's Handbuch der allgemeinen Kirchengeschichte. Zweiter Band. Vierte Auflage, neu bearbeitet von Dr. J. P. Kirsch. Freiburg-im-Breisgau: Herder. 1904. Pp. xi.-1104 (9½ by 6).

Au Temps de la Pucelle. Récits et Tableaux: Le Peril National. Par Marius Sepet. Paris: P. Téqui. 1905. Pp. vii.-408 (7¼ by 4½). 3.50 fr.

- Les Voix qui Raniment.** Par Marguerite de Montgermont. Paris : P. Téqui. 1905. Pp. 293 (8 by 5). 2.50 fr.
- Vie du Vénérable Justin de Jacobis.** Par M. Demimund. Paris : P. Téqui. 1905. Pp. vi.-415 ($9\frac{1}{4}$ by $6\frac{1}{4}$). 7.50 fr.
- Bartolomeo Cerretani.** Von Dr. Joseph Schnitzer. München : J. J. Lentner. 1904. Pp. lx.-110 ($8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 3.80 marks.
- Biblische Zeitschrift.** Zweiter Jahrgang. Viertes Heft. Herausgegeben von Dr. Joh. Götsberger und Dr. Jos. Sickenberger. Freiburg-im-Breisgau : Herder. 1904. Pp. viii.-337-448 ($9\frac{1}{4}$ by 6).
- Memories of the Crimea.** Second Edition. By Sister Mary Aloysius. London : Burns and Oates. Pp. 96 (7 by $4\frac{1}{2}$). 1s. 6d.
- The Method of the Catholic Sunday School.** By the Rev. P. A. Halpin. New York : Joseph F. Wagner. Pp. 47 ($7\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 40 cents.
- Report of the Meetings in Defence of the Athanasian Creed,** which were held in St. James's Hall and the Hanover Square Rooms on January 31st, 1873. New Edition. Edited, with Notes, by Edgar C. S. Gibson, D.D. London : Longmans, Green and Co. Pp. xii.-65 ($8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 1s. net.
- Saint Jean et la Fin de l'Age Apostolique.** Par l'Abbé C. Fouard. Paris : V. Lecoffre. Pp. xlv.-343 (9 by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 7.50 fr.
- Elementa Philosophiae Scholasticae.** Vol. I. et II. Editio Altera. Auctore Dr. Seb. Reinstadler. Friburgi : Herder. Pp. xxix.-452 ; xviii.-448 (7 by $4\frac{1}{2}$).
- Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri nuovamente rivedute nel testo.** Terza Edizione. Dal Dr. E. Moore. Oxford : Stamperia dell' Università. MDCCCIV. Pp. ix.-490 ($7\frac{3}{4}$ by 5). 6s. net.
- The Way that Led Beyond.** By J. Harrison. New York : Benziger Bros. 1904. Pp. 222 (8 by $5\frac{3}{4}$). 5s.
- The Epistle of St. James.** With an Introduction and Notes. By R. J. Knowling, D.D. London : Methuen and Co. Pp. lxxx.-160 (9 by $5\frac{3}{4}$). 6s.

Catholic Church Music. London: Breitkopf and Härtel.

The Secretary's Holiday, and other Poems. By the Author of "Dove Sono?" London: St. Vincent's Press. 1904.

Saint Paulin, Eveque de Nole. (353-431) "Les Saints." Par André Baudrillart. Paris: V. Lecoffre. 1905. Pp. vii.-190 ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$). 2 fr.

Science and Immortality. By William Osler, M.D., F.R.S. London: Constable and Co. 1904. Pp. 94 (6 by 4). 2s. 6d.

The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. By Rev. A. A. Lambin, LL.D. New York: Benziger Bros. Pp. viii.-216 ($4\frac{1}{2}$ by 3). 1s. 6d.

Les Martyrs. Tome III.: Julien l'Apostat, Sapor, Genserik. Traduit et Publié par le R. P. Dom. H. Leclercq, O.S.B. Paris: H. Oudin. 1904. Pp. ccxiv.-422 (8 by 5). 3.50fr.

The Epistles of Erasmus: from his earliest Letters to his Fifty-first Year. Vol. II. English Translation by Francis Morgan Nichols. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1904. Pp. xiii.-638 ($9\frac{1}{2}$ by 6). 18s. net.

Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. By the Count de Montalembert. Translated by Francis Deming Hoyt. New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1904. Pp. x.-493 ($8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 10s. 6d. net.

A History of Rome During the Later Republic and Early Principate. Vol I. (B.C. 133—A.D. 104). By A. H. J. Greenidge. M.A., D.Litt. London: Methuen and Co. Pp. xii.-508 (9 by 6). 10s. 6d. net.

English Church History. From the Death of Archbishop Parker to the Death of King Charles I. By the Rev. Alfred Plummer, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1904. Pp. xi.-179 ($7\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$). 3s. net.

Ven. Innocentii PP. XI. De Probabilismo Decreti Historia et Vindicatæ. Auctore Francisco Ter Haar, C.S.S.R. Romæ: F. Pustet. 1904. Pp. viii.-165 (9 by $5\frac{1}{2}$).

The Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Tommasi. Edited, with an Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Appendices, by J. Wickham Legg. London: S. P. C. K. Pp. 62 (11 by $8\frac{1}{4}$). 3s.

- The Life of General de Sonis.** By Mgr. Baunard. Translated by Lady Herbert. Westminster : Art and Book Co. Pp. xviii.-345 ($7\frac{3}{4}$ by 5). 2s. 6d. net.
- The Middle Ages.** Sketches and Fragments. By Thomas J. Shahan, S.T.D., J.U.L. New York : Benziger Bros. 1904. Pp. 432 (8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 8s.
- The Ridingdale Boys.** By David Bearne, S.J. London : Burns and Oates. 1904. Pp. 356 ($7\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$).
- Socialism :** its Theoretical Basis and Practical Application. By Victor Cathrein, S.J. Authorised Translation by V. F. Gettelmann, S.J. New York : Benziger Bros. 1904. Pp. 424 (8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 6s. net.
- Select Statutes, Cases, and Documents.** To illustrate English Constitutional History. Edited by C. Grant Robertson, M.A. London : Methuen and Co. Pp. xviii.-452 (9 by $5\frac{1}{2}$).
- The Science of Spiritual Life,** according to the Spiritual Exercises. New and Enlarged Edition. By Father Clare, S.J. London : Art and Book Co. 1904. Pp. xvi.-652 (9 by 6). 7s. 6d. net.
- The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi.** Rendered into English Verse by James Rhoades. London : Chapman and Hall. MCMIV. Pp. 303 ($7\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$). 5s. net.
- Sous la Couronne d'Angleterre : L'Irlande et son Destin,** etc. Par Firmin Roz. Paris : Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1905. Pp. iv.-303 ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$).
- Tractatus de Conceptione Sanctae Mariae.** Olim Sancto Anselmo attributus nunc primum integer ad codicum fidem Editus a P. Herb. Thurston et P. Th. Slater, Soc. Jes. Friburgi : Herder. MCMIV. Pp. xl.-104 (6 by $3\frac{3}{4}$). 1s. net.
- The Spiritual Efficiency of the Church.** By Charles Gore, D.D., D.C.L. London : John Murray, 1904. Pp. 93 ($8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 1s. net.
- Vera Sapientia ;** or, True Wisdom. Translated from the Latin of Thomas à Kempis by the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Byrne, D.D., V.G. London : R. and T. Washbourne. 1904. Pp. x.-204 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5). 2s. 6d.

Catholic Ideals in Social Life. By Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. Westminster: Art and Book Co. MCMIV. Pp. 249 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5).

Studies in Religion and Literature. By William Samuel Lilly. London: Chapman and Hall. 1904. Pp. xvi.-320. (9 by $5\frac{3}{4}$). 12s. 6d. net.

A Spoiled Priest, and other Stories. By the Rev. P. A. Sheehan, D.D. London: Burns and Oates and T. Fisher Unwin. 1905. Pp. 213 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5). 5s.

Sermons Preached in St. Edmund's College Chapel on Various Occasions. Collected and Arranged by Edwin Burton. London: Burns and Oates. 1904. Pp. xii.-249 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5). 5s.

Pastoral Medicine. A Handbook for the Catholic Clergy. By Alexander E. Sanford, M.D. New York: Joseph F. Wagner. Pp. 234 (8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 1.50 dols.

An Irish-English Dictionary. (Irish Texts Society.) Compiled and Edited by Rev. Patrick S. Dinneen, M.A. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son. 1904. Pp. xxii.-803 ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by 5). 7s. 6d. net.

The Adventures of King James II. of England. By the Author of "A Life of Sir Kenelm Digby." London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1904. Pp. xliii.-502 (9 by 6). 13s. 6d. net.

The Palace of Caiphas. From the French. By the Rev. F. Urban Coppens, O.F.M. With Preface by F. Andrew Egan, O.F.M. London: Burns and Oates. Pp. xix.-71 ($8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$). 2s. net.

Now and Then, and Other Sermons. By the Rev. Spencer Jones, M.A. London: Brown, Langham and Co. 1904. Pp. 209 ($7\frac{3}{4}$ by 5). 3s. 6d.

The Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God. An Exposition by Archbishop Ullathorne. Revised by Canon Iles, D.D. Westminster: Art and Book Co. MDCCCIV. Pp. 222 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5). 2s. 6d. net.

Doctrinal Hymns. With the Life of Our Lord in the Mass. By the Most Rev. Archbishop Bagshawe. Westminster: Art and Book Co. 1904. Pp. viii.-127 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$). 2s. 6d. net.

- Alexis Villié** (1881-1901). By the Rev. P. H. D'Arras. Translated by Lady Herbert. Westminster : Art and Book Co. 1904. Pp. xii.-175 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5). 2s. 6d. net.
- Callista.** By Cardinal Newman.
- Loss and Gain.** By Cardinal Newman.
- Fabiola.** By Cardinal Wiseman. London : Burns and Oates. 6d. each.
- The Ruler of the Kingdom,** and Other Phases of Life and Character. By Grace Keon. New York : Benziger Bros. 1904. Pp. 270 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5). 6s.
- The Englishwoman's Year-Book for 1905.** Edited by Emily Janes. London : A. and C. Black. Pp. xxxv.-368 ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$). 2s. 6d. net.
- Forget-me-Nots from Many Gardens; or, Thirty Days' Devotion to the Holy Souls.** By a Member of the Ursuline Community, Sligo. London : R. and T. Washbourne. Pp. viii.-199 ($5\frac{1}{2}$ by 4). 1s. 6d.
- Little Folks' Annual, 1905.** New York : Benziger Bros. 3d.
- Liturgia Divini Officii juxta novissima S. Sedis Decreta.** Auctore Sac. Doct. Æmilio Ferrais. Veronae : F. Cinquetti. MCMV. Pp. 151 ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by 5).
- De Judicio Sacramentali.** De Natura Peccati. Editio Tertia. Auctore Can. Jo. B. Pighi, S.Th.D. Veronae : Cinquetti. MCMIV. ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by 5.)
- Comfort for the Faint-Hearted.** By Ludovicus Blosius, O.S.B. Third Edition. Translated by Bertrand A. Wilberforce, O.P. London : Art and Book Co. Pp. xxx.-178 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5). 2s. 6d. net.
- Biblische Studien.** IX. Band, 5 Heft : Der Zweite Brief des Apostelfürsten Petrus. Von Dr. Theol. Karl Heutel. Freiburg : Herder. 1904. Pp. 88 (9 by $5\frac{3}{4}$). 2.40 marks.
- Cantata of the Immaculate Conception; In Four Parts and Three Languages.** By Prior Clement Tyck, C.R.P. Antwerp : Van Os-de-Wolf. 1904.
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